The Forum

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OUR RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

One who was closely identified with Germany a decade ago, but who has since followed her progress only by observation rather than by direct contact with her people, must exercise care in advancing opinions in regard to the prevailing conditions there to-day. Such a development of a nation of the highest civilization as Germany has undergone is necessarily attended by so many subtle phases that it is well to hesitate before attempting to answer categorically what her present intentions really are with reference to the United States.

The Germans are their own severest critics. He is, indeed, a brave man who will attack his whole country for his country's good, and stand firm, regardless of abuse. But this is what Prof. Reuleux, the German Commissioner, did when, in 1876, he characterized Germany's exhibit at Philadelphia as "cheap and nasty." I never saw a prouder man than he when, in Chicago, in 1893, I had the pleasure to congratulate him upon the magnificence of the German exhibit there; and I am of the opinion that he has done more for the commercial advancement of Germany than any other single individual. Since 1876 her improvement in manufactures, due to advanced technical education, has been most marked; and the quality of her productions is now receiving the encomiums of the world.

Germany's industrial record in recent years reads like a romance. What it took England eighty or ninety years to accomplish, Germany has done in thirty. In 1870, of Germany's population 64 per cent were put down to agricultural pursuits, and the remainder to

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manufactures and trade. To-day, two-thirds follow mechanics and shipbuilding. Germany is often compared with England and the United States. Nothing could be in many ways more unjust. England and the United States are rich in resources beyond the wildest fancy: they are almost unlimited. Germany has to get cotton (last year 2,500,000 bales from us), corn, iron, wool, and even coal, from abroad. She has to get the raw material for her vast chemical works—those establishments which have won for her such fame and fortune. Her soil is poor. A vast, wedge-shaped track, on which only spruce and pine forests are possible, enters the north and extends southward to the very heart of the Empire. It covers fully one-fifth of German territory, and for many parts of the other four-fifths the world is ransacked for fertilizers to aid in cultivation. Fruits, vegetables, and cereals of all kinds must come from other lands. Australia and the states of the River Plate send wool; South America sends drugs and dyewoods; while cotton, corn, cereals, and some copper and coal come from the United States.

Prof. Blondell, head of the French Commission sent a year ago to investigate the underlying causes of German progress under such great disadvantages, puts it down to the temperament of the people, to the marvellous system of industrial art, and to the commercial and technical schools. The Royal British Commission came practically to the same conclusion, which it expressed in almost identical words; and the same is true of the Belgian Commission. Consul Monaghan gives his opinion tersely when he says: "It is the application of scientific methods to industrial development."

The only country Germany fears is the United States. Germany lacks the coal, iron, and cheap foods; hence, her struggles with countries which have these is destined to grow keener and keener as the latter advance toward her in the resources of education. The interests of the Agrarians, who are composed chiefly of the nobles and landed proprietors, clash with those of industrial communities. Our tariff has always been regarded with disfavor by German manufacturers; but the first practical evidence of attack upon American methods, or distrust of American products, which came under my personal observation, was in 1883.

A trichinosis epidemic had broken out in the village of Emersleben, in Prussian Saxony, the cause of which was attributed to the use of pork alleged to have been imported from the United States. Under orders from the Secretary of State, I was authorized to make

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a thorough investigation, and report the facts. I was enabled to prove clearly that the infected swine had come from Hungary and not from America; that they had been subjected to inspection for *trichinæ* by the village barber, and pronounced clean. Notwithstanding his assurances, the people who partook of the *raw* flesh of these swine, numbering some 500, all sickened, and over 50 died. The great German pathologist, Prof. Virchow, told the people at the time that if they would cook the meat there would be no danger.

On June 25, 1880, the importation of chopped pork and sausages from America had been prohibited. On February 18, 1883, the Federal Council rescinded this decree, and substituted in its stead a still more stringent one, prohibiting the importation from America (the United States) of pigs, pork, bacon, and sausages of all kinds. This action on the part of the German authorities resulted in sharp diplomatic correspondence. The Hon. A. A. Sargent, United States Minister at Berlin, gave our Government the full benefit of his views as well as his advice. The President thereupon invited the German Government to send a commission of experts to the United States to examine into the operations of hog-raising and packing; and everything was done by the mercantile interests concerned to show that the position taken by Germany was unwarranted by the facts. The diplomatic correspondence between the Legation of the United States at Berlin and the German Foreign Office reached an acute stage.

In conveying to Count Hatzfeldt the desire of the President to have the fullest investigation, Mr. Sargent took occasion to remark:

"Inasmuch as the United States are large and growing consumers of German manufactures, and the food they export to Germany is a principal article of exchange, the laws of trade must dictate their obtaining the goods they import elsewhere, if the equivalent they furnish is refused. This would probably result, even if Congress did not meet the issue by legislation, under the belief that another motive than the unsoundness of American pork products caused this exclusion. Such a belief, of course, could not obtain if fair investigation on the spot by German experts showed dangerous unsoundness to exist."

To this, Secretary of State Frelinghuysen replied, in part, that the Minister had to some extent gone beyond the intention of the President, and said:

"So far as your intimation touches the operation of the laws of international trade, it is unexceptionable. Those laws control themselves, and commerce must perforce work its own channels in the most natural directions; but when you go further and indicate the possibility that this Government may resort to retaliation if its views be not assented to by Germany,

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you introduce an element which it was not intended to present. * * * Lest the statements in your note of February 23 might prove liable to misinterpretation, you are authorized to make the contents of this instruction known to Count Hatzfeldt by reading it to his excellency, and should he desire it, by leaving with him a copy."

Herr von Eisendecher, the German Minister at Washington, added the following interesting assertion to the controversy:

"The prohibition resorted to by Germany is a measure of internal German legislation found necessary after careful investigation on sanitary grounds, and closely connected with the internal institutions of the country. Germany has always carefully avoided all interference in regard to measures which other Governments, and especially the Government of the United States, think just to adopt in the interest of their country. This principle of non-interference has been preserved by Germany also in relation to the high and often prohibitive duties imposed upon German industries in the United States in consequence of their adopted financial system. Germany has never even ventured the slightest remarks in this respect tending to suggest an eventual friendly consideration of German interests in the framing of American internal laws and measures. In the prohibition referred to above, however, higher interests of the nation are at stake than tariff laws, that is, the protection of the people against a danger to health. Now, as Germany by its strict and rigorously enforced legislation affords the same protection to its people at home against all danger from German cattle and hogs, it cannot possibly treat the foreign producers better than its own. An investigation of the American methods of raising hogs and preparing hog products, by a commission of German experts in the United States, could not effect a material change in this respect."

In January, 1883, just before the issuance of the second, and more sweeping, decree against American products, Mr. Sargent reported to the Government that strong protests were being sent to the Federal Council by German merchants and others against the measure, and that editorials in leading German newspapers had fully exposed the falsity of the excuses for exclusion. Mr. Sargent said:

"If this were strictly a Government of public opinion in the American sense, these general public appeals, backed as they are by solid reasoning upon the indisputable facts, would prevail, and the project would be abandoned. But this is far from being the case, and the prospect is stronger than ever that the decree will be issued. I am informed that Mr. Böttischer, the Imperial Minister of the Interior, informed a protestant delegation, during the past week, that the measure would certainly be adopted. * * * The pretence of sanitary reasons is becoming the thinnest veil, which has been torn into shreds, and which is now apparently only insisted on as an excuse to the United States. * * * The movement is merely selfish, and in disregard of the interests of the United States. The only argument which would be effective against the measure would be the fear of reprisals."

The above was published in the volume of Consular Reports issued by the then Bureau of Statistics of the Department of State. When it reached Germany it caused the widest newspaper comment and vilification of Mr. Sargent, who really then became *persona non*

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grata. It was thought at the time that a number of the Consuls of the United States, who had been very active in support of their chief, would have to share his fate; but as these officers had a purely commercial character, it seems that it was unofficially understood at Washington that the German Government was not particularly interested in their conclusions.

The situation was unfortunately complicated at the time by the effort of Mr. Sargent to carry out instructions to transmit to the Reichstag the resolutions of condolence passed by the House of Representatives of the United States upon the demise of the German statesman Laskar, who died in Texas while on a visit to relatives. Prince Bismarck considered Laskar his bitterest political enemy; and he looked upon the attempt to present the resolutions as a direct personal insult, which he resented with all the power at his command. The differences between the Governments of the United States and Germany became completely overshadowed by the strained personal relations of the Imperial Chancellor and the United States Minister; for, rightfully or wrongfully, the former held the latter wholly responsible for the Laskar incident. On the other hand, the German statesman took advantage of the opportunity to make a speech in the Reichstag, giving full assurance of the friendship of Germany for the United States; recalling historical instances, international as well as personal, and unhesitatingly and unequivocally putting all the blame for any misunderstanding between the countries upon the action of the American Minister. Mr. Sargent retired from Berlin, having been transferred to Russia. His nomination as Minister to that country was confirmed immediately by the United States Senate, and Herr von Eisendecher left Washington. The chapter ended, but the book was far from closed, for the German decree remained in full force.

On March 3, 1891, Congress passed an act providing for the inspection of all meats, under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture.

In reality, however, the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 opened up a way to the solution of the vexed question; and a *modus vivendi* was found by the Hon. John W. Foster, Special Commissioner on the part of the United States, and Baron von Mumm, Imperial German chargé d'affaires, who met on August 22, 1891, and exchanged declarations having in view, on the one part, the importation of German sugar into the United States, and, on the other, the importation of American pork into Germany. As a basis of these declarations the

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United States made the admission of German sugar, under No. 16 Dutch standard, free of duty, pursuant to the tariff act of October 1, 1890.

On September 3, 1891, Hon. William Walter Phelps, then United States Minister at Berlin, wired Mr. Blaine:

"The decree repealing the decree excluding American pork has been signed. May I through you congratulate the President that under his auspices the long struggle to secure this right is successfully ended?"

The tariff act of 1894 provided that sugar imported from countries that pay an export bounty thereon was subject to a duty of one-tenth ($\frac{1}{10}$) of a cent per pound additional to the duty provided in the regular schedule. This provision called forth the earnest protest of Germany, whose embassy at Washington declared officially on July 16, 1894:

"While the Imperial Government cannot thus do otherwise than regard the addition of one-tenth of a cent per pound as being at variance with the treaty, the German sugar producers declare, on the basis of accurate computations made by them, that this addition would, in fact, drive out German productions from the American market. The addition, moreover, falls more heavily upon the sugar industry of Germany than it does upon that of other bounty-paying countries, since the German bounty, which, in the year 1897, is to be discontinued entirely, is by no means as high as those of Austria and France, and does not even approximately compensate the exporter for the loss entailed upon him by the additional duty. The excitement which prevails in German agricultural and manufacturing circles on account of this unequitable treatment of a German production is the more vehement and the less easily resisted, inasmuch as it is generally believed that the United States, in the agreement of August 22, guaranteed exemption to Germany from the duty on sugar, in return for the concession of the conventional duties on American agricultural products and the removal of the restrictions on the importation of swine."

The tariff act of 1890 had also imposed an additional duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound on sugars imported from countries that paid an export bounty. Germany does not appear, however, to have protested against it; most likely for the reason that by this act the duty was imposed only upon sugars above No. 16 Dutch standard, whereas by the act of 1894 the sugar schedule was changed to include all sugars in the dutiable list, whether above or below No. 16 Dutch standard. As the major part of the German sugar imported into the United States was not above No. 16 Dutch standard, the effect of the additional duty upon it, under the tariff act of 1890, was, therefore, insignificant. President Cleveland, in his annual message, recommended the repeal of so much of the statute as imposed the additional

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duty complained of by the German Embassy; but his request was unheeded by Congress.

While distasteful to Germany, it is hardly probable that the one-tenth of a cent per pound additional duty on sugar would have caused her to take any extraordinary action; but when the Dingley Tariff Act proposed to make her pay an additional duty equal to the net amount of the bounty which she paid to her exporters of sugar, her commercial patience was apparently exhausted. Germany insisted that she would be compelled to regard as defective the premises upon which her declarations had been based in the arrangements made in August, 1891, and would, moreover, be confronted with the question whether those advantages which she had hitherto extended to the United States should be further continued. Germany had formerly maintained that the granting of an export bounty was her own domestic affair;[1] and after the passage of the Dingley Bill her embassy at Washington declared in an official communication to the Department of State that, in consequence of its passage, the Imperial Government protested against "the treaty-violating treatment of German sugar in the United States."

It is an interesting coincidence that almost at the same time that these discussions were being conducted between the officials in Washington, Ambassador White was receiving, in Berlin, from the German Government, reports of results of investigations which had been carried on there, and which had, it was claimed, shown a number of cases where *trichinæ* had been discovered in pork and other hog products imported from the United States during the second half of the year 1896 and the first half of the year 1897. It was also stated that the shipments were in each case accompanied by the prescribed American certificate of inspection.

A vigorous reply from the Secretary of State, Mr. Sherman, supported by the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture, who had made an exhaustive study of German medical history, concluded as follows:

"First—American pork as sent to Germany is practically harmless and certainly far less dangerous than inspected German pork, as is shown by the medical records of Germany. Second—The discovery of *trichin* in a few pieces of our pork when re-examined abroad cannot be accepted as evidence of inefficient inspection. The numerous cases of trichinosis in man which have occurred in Germany from eating pork inspected there shows the impossibility of discovering trichinous meat by the first inspection.

[1] The bounty paid to the exporter of sugar in Germany is termed "A bonification of internal tax" paid by the manufacturer.

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Third—As American pork is carefully inspected here before shipment, it is unjust to our shippers to require them to pay the expense of a second inspection after it arrives in Germany. This expense, together with the damage from unpacking, exposure, and hastily repacking, is a great obstacle to this important branch of our commerce with the German nation."

Thus the situation had retrograded by 1897 to where it practically was in 1880.

This is, essentially, the history of the long-drawn-out commercial struggle between two great world powers. The San José scale farce may, however, be mentioned in passing. And the expulsion of the American life insurance companies from Prussia was a circumstance which stands alone as a clear case of unadulterated *Brodneid* or "business envy." It may be stamped as one of those measures which cannot be reconciled with the "most favored nation" clause, which governs the economical relations between friendly powers.

Germany has become a huge industrial state. Her need of foreign markets is great; and it cannot be denied that she has reached, and is holding, them. Her internal and external policy tends to that end. The policy of the United States is preëminently one of protection to home industries. If confronted by this as an argument we will promptly admit it, maintaining, at the same time, that there is nothing in such a policy inconsistent with reciprocal arrangements as to trade in any special commodities. What we must object to is the wanton and unjust decrying of our products in the world's markets, either as a subterfuge or for purposes of rivalry.

The controversy on this subject with Germany is futile; since refute, argue, and demonstrate, as much as we may, the American hog will be desirable there only when it is coated with German sugar here. The meat inspection bill which recently passed the Reichstag is legislation of an annoying character, but we must accept it with good grace. I recall that when a committee of German manufacturers complained to Prince Bismarck of the stringent United States Consular regulations regarding invoices, he consoled them with the frank statement that the United States had a perfect right to say how business with her should be transacted. It is, however, a source of some satisfaction that Germany has at last come out in the open, and will not henceforth rely upon star-chamber methods to protect her comparatively few farmers at the expense of her industrial workers.

The more recent reports of our consuls in Germany point to the great irritation there on account of the thorough manner in which the administrative features of the United States tariff law successfully

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circumvent all efforts at under-valuation. A cause of great anxiety is said to be the claim that the balance of trade has turned in favor of the United States, and, furthermore, that we are proving an ardent competitor in the foreign markets. The export of textiles to this country, just that branch of industry wherein Germany has worked so hard and accomplished so much through the technical education of her workmen, has fallen off. The French Reciprocity Treaty is regarded as a menace. In view of these facts, the meat inspection bill has, at first glance, a suspicion of effort at retaliation; but an analysis of the vote on the bill shows that it was opposed by the Radical and Social Democratic parties, because of the fear that the absolute prohibition of the importation of sausages and tinned meats, and the restrictions which are placed on other kind of meat, would seriously raise the cost of living among the poorer classes. If this be so, the measure has a marked element of weakness; and any interest which it is possibly intended to injure may rest easy in the firm belief that the burden which it carries will eventually break it down. The bill was opposed also by the Agrarians, their reason being, however, that it was not stringent enough.

In America we do not understand how the jealousies of commercial interests could so have poisoned the minds of statesmen as to prompt such actions in international affairs as have been those of Germany toward the United States. The exclusion of the American life insurance companies was unprecedented, and all the phases of it were simply exasperating. The statement that the balance of trade is largely against Germany and in favor of the United States must be taken *cum grano salis*. The question of trans-shipment of goods arriving at German ports and destined for other countries is an important equation, and one which should be carefully considered. The large difference apparent between our imports from Switzerland and our direct exports to that country is a case in point. In reality, the balance of trade, if we include the indirect shipments to Switzerland via Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, and Havre, is far less than the statistics would lead us to infer.

The enforcement of our tariff laws should not cause irritation; and honest exporters should not complain of, but rather be grateful for, the safeguards which have been adopted to prevent undervaluation. And what reasonable cause for ill feeling between two great countries can there be at the efforts of the one to compete in foreign markets with the other? Germany has successfully rivalled Great

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Britain; and there are many fields in which it will take the United States years even to rival, let alone supplant, her. We consider that the South American markets should be ours, and we intend to do our best to secure the lion's share of them, not by the adoption of extraneous methods, but by earnest efforts to comply with the conditions, and to smooth the way by reciprocal advantages.

The German-American reciprocity negotiations are in an initial stage; so that it is to be hoped that in a relatively short time there ought not to be any alarm on account of the arrangements which we have already concluded with France. Ambassador White has recently stated publicly that the relations between the United States and Germany were never more cordial than they are to-day. Perhaps he and Special Reciprocity Commissioner Kasson have something pleasant in store. The possibility of this is clearly foreshadowed in the recent writings of Consul-General Mason, our leading commercial representative in Germany, when he suggests that matters relating to countervailing duties and port charges shall be regulated, and liberal justice secured to food products by reciprocal concessions. There is no doubt that, while there may be clashing between private parties in agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests, "the great German heart, like the great American heart, desires peace," and the way to secure it seems to have been pointed out.

WILLIAMS C. FOX.

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SOCIAL REFORM AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

But for the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the South African Republics, the approaching general election would have been fought on the question of the taxation of ground-values. The break-up of the Liberal party, consequent on its adoption of Home Rule for Ireland, and the curious development of strong democratic tendencies in the Conservative party—the certain result of its opposition to Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy—have wrought a complete change in the party system and menaced its existence. Thoughtful Englishmen do not relish this threatened destruction of party government, and during the present Parliament the spectacle of an Opposition weak in numbers as well as in vitality has alarmed politicians of every hue.

Sir Edward Russell, ex-M.P., and editor of the Liverpool "Daily Post," recently published some reminiscences of his political career, in which he stated as a positive fact, though declining to give his authority, that Lord Rosebery would have formally gone over to the Conservative party but for the personal intervention of the Queen, who feared that his secession would hasten the final break-up of the Liberal party; and destroy government on party lines. Lord Rosebery denied the story, but most people who read the denial felt that it was written in order to relieve the Queen of any responsibility. It is rather a curious commentary on this story that the all-absorbing interest taken in Scotland in the question of taxing land-values has had the effect of almost nullifying Lord Rosebery's influence in his own country, and has aroused against him a strong opposition because of the well-founded belief that he is not sound on the matter.

Neither the Liberal leaders nor their opponents have a definite programme. Hence the impetus given to the movement for social reform, of which the taxation of ground-values is the root. This problem must be dealt with satisfactorily ere any serious change in the social improvement of the working classes can be brought about. Prominent members of the Tory party have given the movement their

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hearty support; and its essentially non-party character has done much to bring it into the front rank of "burning questions."

Lord Salisbury foresaw this, and endeavored to give the movement a party color by his declaration that the Liberal party, having no policy upon which to catch the popular vote, would make an attack on property. The strength of the movement so far has lain in the growing needs of the large towns, the growth of taxation, the serious problem of housing the working classes, the provision of open spaces, etc.—matters to which it is very difficult to give a partisan twist. At the same time it is beyond dispute that the Liberal party is much more advanced on this question than its opponents, who are hampered by the great land-owners, Tories for the most part; and there is no doubt that the Liberals would have made it their battle-cry but for the turn events have taken in South Africa.

The most prominent member of the Rosebery section at the moment is Sir Edward Grey, one day sure to be Prime Minister; and he has spoken with no uncertain sound on this question. At the Ninety-Nine Club, on December 14, 1899, he said:

> "I do not think that the people of the country at large doubt for a moment that it is desirable and just. I am sure of this, that when you take such a question as Taxation of Land-Values, that party which first masters the question, which first makes it its own, which can show that it is really capable of dealing with it and is really prepared to deal with it, and is not going to let itself be hampered by vested interests in exercising its intelligence upon it freely, will have a great and solid ground upon which to appeal to the country."

These are striking words, coming from one who has held high office in a Liberal Ministry, and represent to a large extent the official Liberal view of the question. The division lists of the House of Commons for May 2, 1900, show Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Henry Asquith, and the ranks of the Liberal members as voting for a motion in favor of taxing ground-values, which in a Tory Parliament was rejected by 42 votes only.

No question of recent years has aroused so much enthusiasm in the ranks of the workers. Indeed, it has come to be regarded as a great moral movement rather than a political one. The conferences held in various parts of the United Kingdom to promote the cause are remarkable for showing this side of the movement, as well as its non-partisan character. At the conference held in Glasgow, last October, there were no less than 216 delegates from English and Scotch Town and County Councils, Urban and Rural District Councils, Poor

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Law Unions, etc. Many of the delegates were mayors of boroughs, while Lord Carrington and sixty members of Parliament wrote to express their strong approval of the resolutions, which were adopted without dissent. The delegates from non-public bodies, 341 in number, were men prominent in their respective localities, and may be taken to represent the public on the proposals before the conference.

The corporation of Glasgow has before Parliament a bill of its own to enable Scottish burghs to levy a tax of two shillings in the pound on the annual value of all land inside the municipal areas. Recently, a great conference was held in Newcastle-on-Tyne; and despite the fact that public attention has been distracted from social questions by the varying fortunes of the army at the Cape, the public authorities of Northumberland and Durham, and of various other bodies, sent 479 delegates to declare that "owners of land-value should contribute to taxation in proportion to the value of their land." The mayor of the city attended as the delegate of the corporation, and the presence of the Labor members of Parliament gave additional significance to the proceedings. It may be here mentioned that in the Liverpool City Council the writer was defeated by nine votes only on a motion to send a delegate to the Glasgow conference; and the full significance of such a vote will be recognized when it is remembered that the Conservatives have a majority of nearly one hundred members in that body.

Most of the bye-elections since the general election of 1895 have been fought on this question; and the two Edinburgh victories in 1899 gave a tremendous impetus to the movement. All the advanced Liberal journals are constantly advocating the inclusion of this idea in the Liberal programme, when it is drawn up. In fact, the "Speaker" suggests that, for the present, temperance reform and land taxation should be the sole planks in the Liberal platform. The main causes for the interest taken in the land question at this moment are: (1) the gradual decrease in the acreage under cultivation; (2) the crowding of the great cities, with the inevitable casual labor and the concomitant evil of drink; and (3) the bad housing of the poor, which is the certain result of our present unsatisfactory land system.

The following table, taken from the Government returns, shows that since 1870 no less than 6,379 square miles of food-producing land have gone out of cultivation, while the value of land has gone up enormously in all the urban areas. The increase in permanent pasture-land is not to be taken as implying that this is to be devoted to the

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rearing of cattle. As a matter of fact, the land on the fringe of all our large towns is kept idle to escape the payment of the very small tax levied on so-called agricultural land, and in the expectation, rarely unfulfilled, of a big increase in value for building necessities:

AREA UNDER CROPS IN 1870 AND IN 1898;
Showing a Decrease of 6,379 Square Miles.

CROPS.	1870. Acres.	1898. Acres.	DECREASE.	
			Acres.	Sq. Miles.
Corn.....	11,755,053	8,816,756	2,938,297	= 4,591
Green Crops...	5,107,135	4,261,441	845,694	= 1,321
Grass, Sanfoin, and Clover..	6,320,126	6,211,012	109,114	= 170
Flax.....	218,870	35,391	183,479	= 280
Hops.....	60,597	49,735	10,862	= 17
	23,461,781	19,374,335	4,087,446	= 6,379

The growth of land-values is one of the most wonderful phenomena of the age. Every inch of land between King William's statue and Trinity Square, London, cost £30 10s., or at the rate of £191,000,000 per acre—beyond all doubt the highest price ever paid in England for land. The South Eastern Railway Company was asked at the rate of $65,000,000 per acre for a piece of ground in Bermondsey, which had a depth of sixteen feet only. The demand was so exorbitant that even a railway company had to pause, finally declining to purchase. In the year 1880 land in Cannon street was sold for $30 a square foot, and six years later the price of land in this identical street went up to $75 a square foot—an increase typical of the growth of land-values in London, even in such a short period of time as elapsed between 1880 and 1886.

In 1672, the rental of the corporation property in Liverpool reached the small sum of $65; to-day it is worth $62,500,000. Last year, in the principal street of the city, the high-water mark of land-value was reached in the purchase by the Stock Exchange at the rate of $1,130 per square yard of some land necessary for the extension of its buildings. This sale has done more to bring home to the people of the city the necessity of taxing land at its full annual value than could have been achieved by years of agitation. In Glasgow land has changed hands at the rate of $390 per square yard; and one could go on giving instances of such increased

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values that the recital would read more like a tale from the Arabian Nights than a conservative statement of undeniable facts. The development of our large towns has naturally increased the site value; and as this increased value is brought about solely by the development of the cities, their industries, etc., and as not one farthing is paid by the owners toward local expenses, the strength of the movement to tax this unearned increment lies chiefly in the large towns, though it is rapidly spreading in the smaller ones.

In a well-known portion of Liverpool the Earl of Sefton is the ground landlord. On one estate rates were paid on an assessment of $200 only. Twenty years ago he sold the estate for half a million dollars, and he still receives an annual income of fifty thousand dollars from the same in the shape of ground rents. This princely income is due to no effort of the noble owner, and he does not contribute one penny to the local exchequer. The development of trade with the United States has given more than a king's ransom to the Earl of Derby, for what was a few years ago a huge sand heap. To accommodate the new steamers which the shipbuilders were turning out to cross the Atlantic in ten days, a period since shortened considerably, the Mersey Docks and Harbor Board bought the sand heap for a huge sum, in order to construct the new docks so familiar to American travellers. A great town has sprung up around these docks, with the result that the land—all belonging to the same owner—went up in price; and as he sells on short leases only he has not merely the enormous sums paid for possession for building purposes, but an annual income, said by competent authorities to exceed half a million dollars per annum, together with the sums received for renewing leases, when he feels inclined to do so, or the value of the buildings erected on the land, which in England fall to the owner of the ground on the expiration of a lease. It is a curious circumstance, that the present mayor of the town is the first single-tax mayor elected in the United Kingdom.

The well-known seaside resort on the northern coast, Southport, is another striking object lesson to the student of this somewhat complicated problem. In 1825 it was valued, under a special act of Parliament, for some legal purpose; and the full value of the town is therein stated to be £205 8s. 8d.—the shillings and pence show how minutely the work was done. Eighteen years afterward it was sold for £262,000, and at this moment is worth £3,600,000. American travellers are familiar with Crewe, the first stop on the railway journey

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between Liverpool and London. Here the London and Northwestern Railway has its locomotive works; and the town, which in 1841 had 203 inhabitants only, has now 30,000. The owner of the land sold it to the railway company for $550 per acre—he had only paid £35 for it a few years before.

The above illustrations will suffice to show that a *prima facie* case has been made out for a searching reform in the matter of compelling owners of land to make some contribution to the expenses of the districts which have made their land valuable. A closer examination of the problem reveals the case for reform to be irresistible. The expenditure of public money in making better streets, providing open spaces, parks, and gardens, securing scientific sanitation, water supplies, quicker transit, and so on, has done more than any other cause to increase the value of land; and it seems monstrous that the average ratepayer has to pay for these necessaries and at the same time increase the value of the property of another, for which increase he will have to pay over again, either in house rent or in extra taxation for municipal reforms. County Councillor Crown, of the great shipbuilding town of Sunderland, gives an instance in his own neighborhood where the local authorities were compelled to spend £25,000 in draining the district, with the result that the land which was only worth £3 per acre before this improvement was effected became worth £45, and realized that amount for building purposes, so that the ratepayer was caught between two fires. This aptly illustrates the fact that every halfpenny spent in making a public improvement raises the cost of land.

During the last four years the Liverpool City Council has purchased the tramways and inaugurated a very complete system of electric traction to the extreme ends of the city, with the result that land not worth five shillings an acre has become worth four and five times that amount.

When the Metropolitan Board of Works spent £2,500,000 in constructing the Thames Embankment, the late leader of the Liberal party, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, admirably summed up the opinion of his party at the time, and the sentiment of a large number of his political opponents:

"We have just been driving along your magnificent Embankment, but at whose expense was that great, permanent, and stable improvement made? Instead of being made, as it should have been, mainly at the expense of the permanent proprietary interests, it was charged, every shilling of it, either upon the wages of the laboring man in fuel necessary for his family, or upon

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the trade and industry and enterprise which belong of necessity to a vast metropolis like this. Take, gentlemen, the question of the ground rents of London, those great unearned increments. I rejoice to think that there are among the great proprietors of London now some high-minded and munificent men who do anything they can for the improvement of their property with a free and open hand. But I believe that I should be correct in saying that only within the last half-century any such thing was known, and down to that period their business was simply to receive and pocket the vast earnings of the labor, industry, and enterprise of their fellow-creatures."

When the toll on the Waterloo Bridge was abolished at the public expense, and a sum per week saved to the working classes who used the bridge night and morning, the rent of adjacent houses went up sixpence per week, according to the Protestant rector of the parish; land having acquired an additional value by the removal of a restriction which kept it less valuable than other land in London.

Side by side with this growth of land-value there is the very curious fact that rates and taxes have gone steadily up, and that the indebtedness of the public bodies throughout the country is increasing by leaps and bounds. During the last half century the rates have gone up from two shillings and sevenpence to three shillings and tenpence in the pound; and this in spite of the fact that the grants toward local expenses from the Imperial Exchequer have increased from £650,000 to £15,000,000 per annum, and that the ratable value has also increased from £85,000,000 to £200,000,000. At the present moment the *local* debts of the nation amount to over £6 per head for the total population.

The problem from a rating point of view is a serious one, and everyone interested in the success of local government is deeply interested in its solution. That the burden falls on the working and laboring classes much beyond their ability to bear is fully proved by the unchallenged statement made by the late member for Walworth, that in London alone land worth £418,000,000 paid half a million pounds only in taxation to the Imperial Exchequer, and not a halfpenny to local rates, while the buildings on the same land paid seven millions to local rates, though not worth one-half the value of the land upon which they stood. In other words, the system is an organized tax on commerce and industry.

The lever which has forced this question to the front is its bearing on the housing question. Millions of money are being spent on all sorts of schemes for the settlement of this most vital difficulty, yet we are no nearer to the end. The only people who have benefited by the expenditure have been the slum owners and the ground

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landlords, who, like the poor, are always with us. Canon Holland has publicly stated that in London there are eight hundred thousand persons to whom a home is denied, and the same thing may be said of every one of our large towns without exception. Disease, crime, and drink are the evils which must accompany the terrible surroundings in which the working classes, and more particularly that section of them which is inaptly termed unskilled, are forced to herd like cattle in transit. The whole country at this moment is ringing with the demand for a radical reform; for it is recognized by earnest reformers that the drink scourge cannot be cured unless the question of housing is solved It were economy to do it thoroughly, for these slum dwellers cost the general ratepayer untold sums eventually in the support of workhouses and hospitals. As an example of the terrible waste of human life in these foul dens let me cite the case of Liverpool, where the normal death-rate is 23, while the rate in the insanitary areas has reached at times the appalling total of 60 per thousand—worse in fact than a modern battlefield. There are 12,000 people living in cellars, below the level of the streets, and some ten thousand houses are standing which violate every law of sanitation! "Reeking with filth" is the trite description given by the medical officer of the corporation.

In view of the new agitation for the destruction of tubercular disease, it is interesting to note that 1,186 persons living in the surroundings described above die annually from phthisis alone, and that every form of tubercular disease is rampant in these quarters, inhabited by at least 80,000 people.

Liverpool has spent over £400,000 in endeavoring to grapple with the problem, but so far no change in the death-rate can be recorded. In one instance the corporation put in force Lord Cross' act for the erection of workmen's dwellings. To do so they had to purchase 635 slum houses in one area, for which they paid £106,000. The land on which they stood had then to be purchased, and cost the gigantic sum of £17,700 per acre. The ground landlord actually profited by the destruction of the slums, while the residents had to be content eventually with smaller rooms and higher rents.

The experience of the London County Council is particularly instructive. Mr. Pickersgill, M. P., and member of the Council, states that the housing policy of the Council so far has cost from £121 to £169 per head of the persons displaced—not to provide for them, be it remembered, but to destroy their infamous surroundings. The

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Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor gave the following recommendation, the most important ever made on this subject:

"At present, land available for building in the neighborhood of our populous centres, though its capital value is very great, is probably producing a small yearly return until it is let for building. The owners of this land are rated, not in relation to the real value, but to the actual annual income. They can thus afford to keep their land out of the market, and to part with only small quantities, so as to raise the price beyond the actual monopoly price which the land would command by its advantages of position. Meantime, the general expenditure of the town on improvements is increasing the value of their property. If this land were rated at, say, 4 per cent on its selling value, the owners would have a more direct incentive to part with it to those who are desirous of building, and a two-fold advantage would result to the community. First, all the valuable property would contribute to the rates, and thus the burden on the occupiers would be diminished by the increase in the ratable property. Secondly, the owners of the building land would be forced to offer their land for sale, and thus their competition with one another would bring down the price of building land, and so diminish the tax in the shape of ground rent, or price paid for land, which is now levied on urban enterprise by the adjacent landowners, a tax, be it remembered, which is no recompense for an industry or expenditure on their part, but the natural result of the industry and activity of the townspeople themselves. Your Majesty's Commissioners would recommend that these matters should be included in legislation when the law of rating comes to be dealt with by Parliament."

These are the points which the public conscience has to solve, and on which public attention was focused, until the unfortunate war in South Africa broke out to draw away, as war always does, the mind of the nation from the victories of peace. Whether or not the general election be fought on the proposed government of the republics as Crown Colonies, it is certain that the taxation of land-values and the housing of the people will, with the temperance question, play a very important part in deciding the result. This is, and must be, the policy to be adopted by the Liberals. A repetition of the *débacle* of 1895 will be the last blow to successful party government; and a disorganized Opposition, such as the present one undoubtedly is, will in the near future promote the permanent formation of groups, which so far have been the *bête-noire* of English statesmen.

THOMAS BURKE.

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THE SHIPPING SUBSIDY BILL.

No very rich endowment of the gift of prophecy is required to justify the assertion that the present generation will witness a growth of the American merchant marine almost as rapid as has been its decline during the last third of the century. Opportunity, created by industrial conditions, and the will to improve it, stimulated by national pride and the course of political events, have combined to secure the future of our shipping interests. Alone either would be an insufficient guaranty of that future. Our steel and coal furnish the opportunity, but the shaping hand of legislation must be put forth before opportunity can become realization.

While the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress has adjourned without conclusive action in behalf of American shipping, the popular forces demanding such legislation are plainly increasing in volume and intensity. The inspiration of these forces was described by the President in his message of last December to Congress:

> "Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remains unaccompanied by progress on the seas. * * * Our coast trade, under regulations wisely framed at the beginning of the Government and since, shows results for the past fiscal year unequaled in our records or those of any other power. We shall fail to realize our opportunities, however, if we complacently regard only matters at home and blind ourselves to the necessity of securing our share of the valuable carrying trade of the world."

The Shipping Subsidy Bill, twice favorably reported to Congress within twelve months, has been challenged at the outset on the ground that it is unnecessary. It is argued that for nearly two years our shipyards have been employed to their full capacity; that we are able to build steamships as well as they can be built anywhere in the world; and that with relatively cheap steel and coal the United States is about to resume the position of superiority held in the days of wooden ships and virgin forests. At first blush these captivating statements seem to rest on a basis of solid facts and figures, and, if strenuously maintained, would probably win support among those not disposed to go below the surface in their investigations. Scep-

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ticism, however, is at once aroused when those who press this argument couple it with the suggestion that the true remedy for our maritime situation is the admission of foreign-built ships to American registry, because they can be bought in the cheapest market.

With the returns for the month of June estimated, the total additions to our merchant fleet during the fiscal year just closing will amount to about 420,000 gross tons. This figure has been exceeded only once since the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1874, the additions to our tonnage reached 437,000 gross tons. If work on fifty war vessels of 140,000 tons (displacement) be included, marine construction in the United States during the past twelve months has drawn near the output of 1855, the year of our maximum construction, 583,000 gross tons. That amount was virtually double the British construction during the same year. But standards of nearly fifty years ago are of little avail to-day; and were we to attain the production of 1855, we should still be far behind Great Britain, which is now building annually in round numbers a million and a quarter gross tons of steel steamships, practically all intended for the foreign carrying-trade.

With the addition of over 400,000 gross tons to our shipping during the year our tonnage engaged in the foreign trade promises to be no larger on the last day of June than it was a year ago, while our proportion in the transportation by sea of our country's exports and imports promises to be the smallest in our history. Thus far, last year's figures are the smallest recorded. The maritime advance of other nations renders our stationary position in effect a retrograde movement. Our competition with foreign nations for the ocean carrying-trade is in fact steadily diminishing. The activity of our shipyards, on which alone the promise of such competition in the early future is by some delusively held out, is chiefly due to incidents which are wholly dissociated from the causes which affect the general ocean carrying-trade.

The gratifying progress of the year has been wholly within the zone of the coasting trade, which has been preserved by legislation from foreign competition. This zone has been considerably expanded during the past three years. The discovery of gold in Alaska has offered a chance to American vessels, which has given full employment to the tonnage on the Pacific coast; and has attracted steamships from the Atlantic coast; thus leading to new construction. By bringing Hawaii and Porto Rico within the coasting limits, Congress has still

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further increased the demand for American shipping; and the high price of bunker coals, which has called into employment deep-sea sailing vessels, in the construction of which we excel, has at least for a time checked the normal decline in sail tonnage.

Joined with these causes, and exceeding any of them, the withdrawal, by purchase or charter, of merchant vessels to serve as transports for the Government has created a demand for new ships, which, with Government construction in progress, has taxed the capacity of our shipyards, and brought about an activity in shipbuilding wrongly taken by some as a sign that we are about to enter into competition with Great Britain and Germany on the ocean. The conclusive proof that without action by Congress such competition is remote may be found in the fact that out of all the vessels built in the United States during the current fiscal year, only one, the "Maracaibo," a steel steamship of 1,770 gross tons, has been built exclusively for the foreign trade; and that vessel is to be operated in conjunction with the mail line under subsidy to Venezuela. The large steamships on which work has begun or for which contracts have been made corroborate, rather than impair, the force of what has been said. The two steamships building for the Pacific Mail, and the three for the Oceanic Steamship Company, will be exempt from foreign competition as far as Honolulu, and will be eligible for mail subsidies under existing law. The three steamships building for the New York and Cuba Mail Steamship Company are also eligible for mail subsidy, as will be the two steamships ordered in Philadelphia by the International Navigation Company, in its effort to support an American ploicy.

The actual progress made in fifteen years toward entrance into the general ocean carrying-trade may be thus summed up: First, Congress, by reserving the coasting trade of the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards, has promoted the construction of steel steamships of from 2,000 to 5,000 gross tons, adapted to that trade; second, Congress, by liberal appropriations for the Navy, has caused the establishment of shipbuilding plants capable of producing the largest ocean vessels of naval or commercial types; and, third, by an unscientific mail subsidy act, Congress has brought about the construction of a very small number of first-class merchant steamships for a few lines of trade. To a limited extent we have assembled the machinery and the force of trained mechanics needed to enter into the business of shipbuilding for the foreign or competitive carrying-trade; and there we have abruptly stopped. Within the past four years the relative difference in the cost

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of steel here and abroad has diminished, and the number of firms engaged in naval construction has increased, with increased orders for torpedo boats, gunboats, and small cruisers. In other things there has been no appreciable change; but the sentiment for a merchant navy has grown under the stimulus of events during that interval.

In the early months of the present Administration, Senator William P. Frye of Maine, summoned to Washington, of his own motion, a small number of the principal American shipowners and shipbuilders, to consider what could be done to restore the supremacy of the American merchant marine in foreign trade. To the intelligent interest and influence in Congress of Senator Frye the country is indebted for practically all the legislation of recent years in favor of American shipping; and his leadership gave to those joined in the movement a confidence that probably no other man could have inspired. The result of the original meeting was the appointment by Senator Frye of a large committee of Senators and Representatives in Congress, shipbuilders, shipowners, lawyers, and others directly interested in shipping, selected without regard to partisan affiliations, but thoroughly representative of all branches of the business, and conversant with its technical details.

While this body of men may have lacked the dignity presumed to attach to a commission created by Congress, a majority of such a commission, had one been created, would necessarily have been drawn from those selected by Senator Frye; and upon the testimony of these men any Congressional Committee inquiring into shipping would unquestionably rely. These men held radically divergent views; some believing in discriminating duties, some in free ships for foreign trade, some in export bounties, some in construction bounties, some in subsidies exclusively for mail steamships, and others in navigation bounties. The year 1897 was consumed in the collection of information at home and abroad, and in the effort to bring about an agreement upon specific propositions to be introduced in Congress. The destruction of the "Maine" and the imminence of war precluded any action by Congress during 1898; and that year was devoted to the further elaboration of the measure finally agreed upon.

In the absence of Senator Frye, as Peace Commissioner at Paris, the bill was introduced by Senator Hanna and Representative Payne, in 1898, more for the purpose of publishing its provisions and evoking general discussion than with the expectation that it could be acted upon during that session. Extended hearings were held, and with

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some amendments the bill was favorably reported to both branches of Congress; Senators Murphy of New York, White of California, and Jones of Nevada, joining with the Republicans. In its amended form the bill was introduced early in the recent session of Congress by Senator Frye and Representative Payne. Even more extended hearings were held; the House Committee holding the bill for the purpose until every one desiring to present his views had the opportunity to do so.

The bill was again reported to both branches of Congress; Representatives Chanler of New York, Small of North Carolina, and Ransdell of Louisiana, Democrats, approving, with Republicans, its method and general plan, but suggesting minor amendments. The friends of the measure have moved with deliberation; have invited the fullest and most general discussion; and have adopted every reasonable means to acquaint the people with its provisions. When Congress reconvenes in December the bill will have been before the country for two whole years. The only logical alternative yet offered for it is the proposition to admit foreign-built ships to the coasting trade as well as to the foreign trade of the United States.

The bill thus framed aims, in brief, to establish in the United States the industry of building all types of ships for the foreign trade, and of promoting their navigation under the flag of the United States, with American crews. The object is thus three-fold and comprehensive. If enacted and successful, it means the harmonious development of the United States into a maritime power second only to Great Britain. Though this development involves expenditure, it will be a wealth-producing process, the return to the nation far exceeding the outlay. The method of the bill is direct. It proposes appropriations from the Treasury, covering in all a period of thirty years, the maximum for any one year not to exceed $9,000,000. Several years must elapse before the maximum is attained; so that the total expenditures provided for may be put at about $250,000,000.

The reports of the British Government show that from 1840 to the present time Great Britain and her colonies have expended directly $240,552,292 on merchant steamships. Concisely stated, the proposition before Congress is that the United States in thirty years shall expend on the development of its merchant marine substantially the same sum which Great Britain has expended in sixty years. By this policy, steadily pursued for many years, Great Britain has firmly established her great steamship lines to all parts of the world; so that less effort is now necessary on her part to maintain such lines. When

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conditions in the two countries at the present day are considered, it must be evident that a less vigorous effort sustained by the United States for a shorter time than proposed would be insufficient to produce results, judged by the standard of British achievement.

It is true that the great bulk of the British payments are now made to mail steamships of from 13 to 22 knots' speed, and that the policy of bounties for all vessels has never been adopted by Great Britain. But it is equally true that by these payments Great Britain began the construction of steamships, and sent them under the red ensign as agents for the promotion of British trade to the four quarters of the globe. Moreover, through these subsidies she has maintained her leadership in steam navigation; but the German Empire, by the adoption of a similar policy in recent years, has just begun to dispute that leadership. It is only a half-truth that British subsidies have been paid for political purposes—to bind her colonies more closely to the mother country—and to improve the mail facilities of British merchants. In the pursuit of these purposes, however, fleets of merchant steamships have been created which would not otherwise be in existence; the art of ship-building has been brought well-nigh to perfection; and the Empire, behind its Navy, has a reserve strength equal to almost any situation which the boldest flights of fancy can conceive—a strength adequate to put 200,000 armed men, fully equipped, into a remote part of the world in less than six months.

Whether the United States will be warranted in entering upon an expenditure which will amount during a generation to $250,000,000 is, however, a question to be determined more by a scrupulous examination of our needs and resources than by a review of what other nations have undertaken. The constitutional right to make such appropriations is based on the powers vested in Congress to provide for the common defence and the general welfare. So strong was the reliance of the founders of our government on the merchant marine as a means of defence by sea that the establishment of any navy was at the outset strongly opposed by some of the ablest among them. The three wars we have fought in less than ninety years have shown the interdependence of the merchant marine and the Navy; and if the dictum of Captain A. T. Mahan be accepted, that interdependence is the general rule of nations. Says that authority:

"History has proved that such a purely military sea power can be built up by a despot, as was done by Louis XIV; but though fair seeming, experience showed that his navy was like a growth which, having no root, soon withers

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away. But in a representative government any military expenditure must have a strongly represented interest behind it, convinced of its necessity."

Our very liberal appropriations have already created a navy much greater than our fleet of deep-sea steamships, and superabundantly able to protect all the commerce under the American flag. It is large enough to furnish, with battleships to spare, two cruisers to convoy at equal speed every American merchant steamship trading beyond a radius of five hundred miles from our coasts.

Germany has approached the subject in the other direction; devoting her energies first to the establishment of commercial fleets and to the domestic yards capable of building them, before entering upon an elaborate naval programme. The money we may spend in behalf of the merchant marine is accordingly directly in the interest of the national defence. It will increase our facilities for the building of war vessels, and thus reduce the cost; it will place at the command of the Government auxiliary vessels for military purposes; and in the officers and crews of merchant vessels will provide a reserve ample to meet emergencies. Such expenditures, furthermore, by increasing the trade of the nation, take on the nature of pecuniary investments, from which direct returns are derived by all our people.

In the present condition of our manufacturing industries and agriculture ocean transportation is more closely interwoven with the general welfare of the country than ever before in our history. The consequences to our export interests of a naval war involving either Great Britain or Germany probably could not be brought home to our people except by the event itself. We are absolutely dependent on the vessels of those two nations for the export of our agricultural products, and to a great extent dependent on them for the export of our manufactures. Until there has been a change in international law, the transfer of the merchant vessels of a belligerent to a neutral flag does not secure exemption from capture, unless the *bona fides* of the sale be established. The immunity of the merchant vessels of belligerents from capture, except when carrying contraband articles, a position strongly advocated by the President, must find a place in the code of nations before the United States can feel at all secure of its export trade.

The other and the natural alternative is the creation of our own means of ocean transportation, not subject to detention in a war to which we are not a party. The power of Congress to encourage specific industries, frequently applied during our national life, has

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not been thus far exercised to the advantage of the ocean carrying-trade—an industry more distinctly national than any other which can be named, and, therefore, with a higher claim to consideration, while its need of such assistance is concededly greater. Our helplessness, even in peace times, is shown by the fact that it is necessary to charter foreign vessels even for the purposes of government. The process of amalgamation and consolidation, so general in industrial enterprises throughout the world, is to be noted in foreign shipping, especially among the Germans. The apprehension that legislation may create an American "shipping trust," whether feigned or real, will increase the opportunities for foreign shipping rings, much more difficult to control than domestic enterprises.

It is the particular merit of the bill of Senator Frye and Representative Payne that it affords equal opportunities and encouragement to all Americans to embark in deep-sea ventures. If there be any favor shown, it is to those not already engaged in shipping. To secure the stability of the policy, without which it would be folly to enter upon it at all, the measure provides for the payment of subsidies under contracts between the Treasury and the owners of American vessels. In the case of vessels in existence on the first of last January, these contracts are to run for ten years; while in the case of vessels thereafter to be built the contracts are to run for twenty years. The advantage is thus with the American shipowner of the future. This advantage is enhanced by requiring the owner of an American vessel now in existence to build new tonnage to the amount of twenty-five per cent of that vessel in order to share in the benefits of the bill.

In the direction of "free ships," the bill provides in effect that all foreign steamships built or building for American ownership on the first of last January shall be entitled to American registry, upon condition that equivalent steamships be built in the United States. The foreign-built vessel, for obvious reasons, is to receive only half the subsidy of the home-built vessel; and both the foreign and the domestic vessels thus registered are to engage exclusively in the foreign trade. These gradations in the amounts and periods of the subsidy are believed to be intrinsically equitable, and best calculated to bring about the general purposes of the bill, which is a steady, but gradual, growth in American navigation and home ship-building, until both have attained a magnitude proportionate in some measure to our great manufacturing industries. It is generally acknowledged that many of these no longer need to rely on the Government; and there is no occa-

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sion to doubt that our shipping interests, by the method proposed will in time acquire corresponding strength.

The adjustment of the rates of subsidy to be paid has required painstaking inquiry into all the elements of international competition on the ocean; and if the subsidy principle is conceded, the rates proposed cannot be successfully assailed. Broadly speaking, three elements comprise the problem of successful commercial navigation—the first cost of construction of the vessel, the cost of maintenance, and the cost of operation. In the case of competing nations, as in the case of competing individuals, the sum of these three elements must be approximately the same, or competition cannot long continue. Beyond question, the cost of building steamships is less in Great Britain than elsewhere; and this must continue to be the case until other favored countries can conduct the industry on a large scale. Using the words only figuratively, Great Britain turns out "machine-made" ships, dozens or scores from the same model, while American and German steamships are "hand-made," two seldom being built from the same plans.

Against the British advantage of construction by wholesale, with the cost of superintendence reduced to a minimum, the lower wages of Germany and the cheaper steel and coal of the United States have been thus far of little avail. By every legitimate device, the German Government, in pursuit of the imperial policy, is endeavoring to reduce the cost of materials and to promote shipbuilding. The United States can confidently look to a growing advantage in the price of materials. There will, however, remain the disparity of wages between the three countries as a handicap to the United States. The American mechanic is doubtless more efficient than his European competitor, and the difference in real wages, based on work performed, is less than in apparent wages. But labor, like capital, is fully efficient only when fully employed; and until there is a steady and large demand for American ships, the efficiency of the mechanics in our shipyards will not counterbalance the larger apparent wages they receive. If there were any force in the contention that American shipbuilders rely on the navigation laws to secure abnormally high prices from American purchasers, and that to-day ships can be built in the United States as cheaply as elsewhere, Bath, Philadelphia, Newport News, Richmond, and San Francisco would now be building merchant vessels for other countries.

The initial cost of construction is carried into the cost of main-

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tenance, through much or all of the lifetime of a ship, in the form of interest, amortization or depreciation, and insurance; though this last item is also a factor in the cost of operation. In the cost of operation, the largest variable factor, dependent on nationality, comprises wages and subsistence. Wages on American ships range from 20 to 75 per cent higher than on British ships, according to the nature of the employment; and the statute law requires the American shipowner, under heavy penalties, to furnish to his crew a daily bill of fare practically equal to the standard of living ashore in the United States, and costing fully one-third more than the provisions generally allowed on foreign vessels.

The disadvantages which have thus far precluded Americans from carrying their own exports have been only outlined. The mass of specific facts, relating to the cost of various types of vessels and of operating them, on which these general statements are based, and upon which the subsidy rates were determined, can merely be alluded to in these pages. The examination is believed to have been as thorough, and the testimony as conclusive, as any submitted to Congress as the basis for legislation in some years; and both are certainly more comprehensive and authoritative than have been ever before presented on the shipping question. The conclusion established, which has been made the basis of the bill, is that the rate of one cent per gross ton (100 cubic feet) per 100 nautical miles will equalize the difference in the cost of building in the United States, and of operating under the American flag, at the present time, the average freight steamship as compared with a similar vessel built in Great Britain, and operated under the British flag.

Stated concretely, an average ocean-freight steamship of 5,000 gross tons, carrying each trip about 6,000 tons of cargo, and making, for example, seven round transatlantic voyages, would in a year receive $21,000, equivalent approximately to 50 cents for each ton of outward cargo carried. That advantage would suffice to start American vessels in competition with foreign vessels, and lead to the construction of such vessels in American yards. As such yards increase their output and obtain steady employment, reductions in the cost of building ships must follow, which will enable American vessels to meet the reduction of freight-rates which new competition would force upon those who now do our ocean-carrying. The benefit of those reductions will be enjoyed by all the export interests of the country. The rate named is slightly below the actual rate proposed

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by the measure. To develop as rapidly as possible our control of the trade of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, in anticipation of the Nicaragua Canal, an additional rate of one-half cent per ton per 100 miles for the first 1,500 miles is provided; and this addition, at a constantly diminishing rate, becomes, of course, applicable as a voyage is prolonged.

If the problem were exclusively one of freight transportation, it would be answered by the provisions of the bill already sketched. Fast ocean mail steamships, however, are as much a necessity to the symmetrical development of a nation's foreign trade as the cable and telegraph are necessary supplements in business life to the mails. Such steamships have a recognized place also as auxiliary cruisers in the naval-defence plans of the maritime nations, with which the United States rightfully aspires to rank. It is the uniform policy of foreign governments to maintain such vessels by direct grants from the public funds. They would not exist without such support; for the enormous consumption of coal necessary to develop high speed, and the amount of labor needed to handle it, involve an expenditure far above that of ordinary steamships, and beyond probable receipts from purely commercial sources.

The British, German, and French Governments obtain such vessels by contracts with certain corporations. The notion that these contracts are open to the lowest bidder has no foundation in fact. The same corporations for many years have held the British contracts; for on the uncertain hope of securing a contract British shipowners do not build fast steamships commercially unprofitable. The system, however, creates monopoly. Its best illustration is the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, which owns twenty-five—all but four—of the German steamships of 14 knots or over. The remainder belong to the Hamburg-American Company, which has recently entered into a combination for a division of the German Asiatic subsidy. However desirable such a system may be in Europe, it is not acceptable in this country, and it has been discarded in the preparation of the subsidy bill. The bill creates equal opportunities for all Americans to build and own fast steamships; guaranteeing to the citizen operating one fast steamship relatively the same support as is granted to the corporation operating ten such vessels. This assistance is graded scientifically on the basis of the coal consumed, which is a measure of the cost of speed.

Furthermore, the special encouragement afforded to fast steam-

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ships has been fixed after a careful comparison with the British and German subsidies. That the special allowance to fast steamships —outside the subsidy allowed on even terms to all vessels—is not extravagant will be clear from this statement: The eleven British mail steamships of the Cunard and White Star lines, which made 113 voyages during the fiscal year 1899, received in mail pay and Admiralty subsidies $1,041,500. Precisely similar American steamships, if they existed, making the same voyages, would receive as offset to that amount, under the subsidy bill reported by General Grosvenor, the sum of $1,052,090, a difference of less than $11,000.

The subsidies to the Peninsular and Oriental, the North German Lloyd, the Messageries Maritimes, and the Nippon Yusen Kaisha steamship lines, connecting the Mediterranean coast of Europe with China and Japan by way of the Suez Canal, are greater than those proposed by the subsidy bill; and the chance for American competition lies in the exemption of the direct transpacific route from canal tolls. For corresponding steamships the entire subsidy proposed barely equals that paid to the Canadian Pacific line from Vancouver to Asia. The number of ocean screw-steamships of 14-knots or upward constitutes only seven per cent of the world's sea-going tonnage. Lloyd's Register for 1899 records only 362; and the great majority of these exist by virtue of legislation at least as liberal as is proposed in the bill before Congress. The feigned apprehension that the subsidy bill will give fast steamships an undue advantage is, therefore, completely refuted by the statistics of shipping.

If the necessity for some legislation and the equitable method of the subsidy bill be conceded, it remains to be determined whether the results will warrant the inauguration of the policy proposed. In estimating these results, there are certain fixed facts upon which the advocates of the policy have proceeded. During the calendar year 1899, American steamships to the number of 110, aggregating 223,341 gross tons, made foreign voyages for which, under the bill, they would have been entitled to $2,111,359 subsidy; and 962 sailing vessels, aggregating 553,000 tons, made foreign voyages for which they would have been entitled to $706,313. Between this total of $2,817,672 and the $9,000,000 maximum a large margin remains for the growth of our shipping. At the present time the transportation by sea of our exports, weighing in round numbers 28,500,000 tons of 2,240 pounds, requires the steady employment throughout the year of about 3,200,000 gross tons of steamships and 1,000,000 gross tons of

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sailing vessels; and in freight and fares the ocean carrying-trade of the United States may be valued at $175,000,000. The maximum of $9,000,000 will provide for the operation of 1,000,000 gross tons of steamships and 700,000 gross tons of sailing vessels—a tonnage equal to the transportation of one-third of our exports at the present time. The sail tonnage will be exclusively of domestic construction. The steam tonnage will comprise about 250,000 tons already in existence, 350,000 tons of foreign vessels to be admitted to the flag, and 400,000 tons to be built in the United States.

When it is borne in mind that, as stated, during the fiscal year just closing we built only one steamship, less than 2,000 tons, exclusively for the foreign trade, the growth of shipbuilding required to bring the bill to its full operation is manifest. It is a moral certainty that the building of these 400,000 tons, meaning over $50,000,000, to be spent by private parties on labor and materials, will increase our experience, efficiency, and economy in such construction as rapidly as our appropriations for the Navy during the past sixteen years have enabled us to acquire those qualities as the builders of warships. These are the qualities now needed, in addition to our increasing advantages in the relative cost of materials, to enable us to surpass Germany and approach Great Britain as a commercial maritime power. With their attainment will come cheaper construction in the United States, compared with foreign prices; and, as construction increases and cost lessens, the need of legislative assistance will inevitably diminish.

The probability of the enactment of the Shipping Subsidy Bill lies in these facts: (1) that the growth of manufactures and agriculture have given to ocean transportation a position in the minds of the people hitherto held almost exclusively by railroad problems; (2) that industrial conditions insure its success; and (3) that the bill itself is the result of more thorough investigation than the subject has ever before demanded and received.

EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

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THE PASSION PLAY AT OBERAMMERGAU.

During the summer months culture, in its widest sense, will be focused at two points upon the European Continent. At one place, Paris, the material opulence of modern life, with its noisy splendor and spectacular attractiveness, will be presented; at the other, Oberammergau, a peaceful and quiet Alpine village, a legacy of the deeply religious life of former times will be transmitted to us in the form of an impressive play.

It is of the latter, the Passion Play, that I wish to speak; and to do this understandingly a retrospect of the early history of the drama among the Indo-Germanic races is essential. In Paris to-day church and theatre are widely separated, as indeed they have been from the golden age of France to the period of her decadence. But, among the Germanic nations, church and theatre have been combined for centuries as centres of culture and education; and in view of this fact the play at Oberammergau acquires a deep historic significance, for it constitutes the last surviving relic of the religious drama of mediæval times.

The original form of the religious drama, both among the Germanic and the Romanic peoples, is identified with the Easter message of the angel at the brink of the grave, as related in the Epistle of St. Mark, chapter xvi, and quoted by Goethe as the symbol of a higher union in Faust—"Christ is Risen." The extraordinary dramatic power of this simple meeting was evolved from the ritual of the Church into the basic scene of a Christian drama. The "responses" of the Catholic service contained the nucleus of the dialogue; and when later, three priests, symbolizing the three Marys, advanced to the crypt, where they were met by a fourth, personifying the angel, the Biblical text, no longer epic-didactic, resolved itself into dramatic action. True, the service was still sung in Latin; but the process of events explained itself, and was now for the first time clearly understood by the congregation. And, finally, when Christ entered triumphantly with the labarium, while the dove,

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as the symbol of union with God the Father, descended from on high amid the jubilant "hallelujahs" of the choir, the foundation of the music-drama among the Christian nations was laid.

These dramatic episodes of the ritual gradually acquired greater independence, and became disunited from the actual service. Purely secular and, occasionally, humorous incidents were introduced; and, in course of time, owing partly to the scruples of the clergy and partly to the increasing number of spectators, these representations were removed from the church itself and transferred to the churchyard or the market-place. By the beginning of the thirteenth century a new and complete Easter play had been thus evolved from the religious ceremonies of Eastertide.

Other portions of the Scriptures were soon added; the Passion of Christ eventually becoming the favorite theme. The most characteristic element here furnished by the Catholic service—the Lamentation of the Virgin—was, however, lyrical in its nature. This *motif* had already at an early date become emancipated, like the Easter celebration, from the ritual of the Church, and had further been converted by the minnesingers, then in their glory, into an independent poem. The Lamentation of the Virgin at the Cross, at first purely a monologue, upon the appearance of John the Baptist became dialogue, here again assuming the form of a minnesong; and when, finally, the words of Christ were added a scene arose which became fully incorporated into the Passion Play.

Another component and interesting feature of the Passion performances is the Magdalene play, which, in the Erlau version, constitutes an independent part; in the Benedictbeuren version, a broad episode; and in one of the Vienna plays, a whole act. The Magdalene here forms a contrast to the figure of Christ; standing forth as the embodiment of man's fall through sin—to be atoned through the suffering of Jesus. These great religious dramas, which, in addition to the Passion, contained the Magdalene play, the Lamentation of the Virgin, and the Easter play, and which, at a later period, were still further amplified by the addition of the Christmas and the Three Kings performances, were given in Germany from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century; and numerous manuscripts, still extant, give evidence of their great popularity. They were, however, by no means confined to Germany, having been known in France as *mystères*, and in England as "mysteries," a name still preserved in the occasional German title "Mysterien."

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The Passion Plays have everywhere elicited a greater interest than that attaching to any other form of the sacred drama, and have consequently, with continuous modifications, survived to the present day. They were distinctively sacred operas, and revealed a close identity with the Easter celebration. In the early period the action was meagre, while the dialogue was almost exclusively Latin, and in the strict ritualistic style, for nearly every part was sung. In a few instances only the Latin incantation was followed by the German translation, which scarcely ventured to emancipate itself from the metre of the original Latin text.

The first independent German interpolation was a Lamentation or a Magdalene part; the oldest text, "Ludus Paschalis, sive de passione Domini," being found in the ancient monastery of Benedictbeuren, in the vicinity of Oberammergau. There was no attempt at dramatic construction, however, until about the fourteenth century, when a Vienna play with Latin and German text appeared. The manuscript of another great play, dating from the fourteenth century, and given in a consecutive performance of two days at Frankfort-on-the-Main, has, unfortunately, almost entirely disappeared, the leader's score only being preserved. Yet this score, in connection with several contemporaneous productions associated with it, suffices to afford a general insight into the composition of the work. It embraces the life of Christ from the Baptism to the Resurrection, and is founded upon a homogeneous, artistic plan. Each act begins and ends with a chorus; and the German language is used extensively, although in many instances serving only as a spoken translation of the vocalized Latin.

The emancipation of the play from the ritual was not established until the fifteenth century, when a number of independent dramas modelled upon a grand scale were produced at St. Gall, Frankfort (1493), Alsfeld, and Heidelberg; the last three being based upon the before-mentioned Frankfort drama of the fourteenth century. In all these productions the plot was presented with painful exactness. Every action was accompanied by words. The spectator became completely absorbed in each situation of the sacred story; and the scenes, as in the case of certain sermons of that day, were based upon traditional legends and Biblical parallels.

At that time the Passion Play had reached the zenith of its development. A fixed tradition had become established both as to form and content; and even a peculiar mode of stage construction

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had become developed—a mode based partly upon the crypts, altars, and galleries of the church, and partly upon conditions of natural environment as conceived by the author. Fortunately, several of these plans of stage construction have been preserved, while the text-books, which were circulated from place to place, are still in existence.

As regards the number of performances, South Germany has always taken the lead. In 1496 a play lasting two days was performed at Sterzing in the Tyrol; and in 1414 another, extending throughout a period of seven days, was given at Bozen. Especially popular, however, was the Passion Play in Switzerland, where performances were given far into the period of the Reformation. In this connection it is only necessary to recall the great festival at Luzerne. Heidelberg, also, was a great centre of the religious drama; and here (1513) we first find the Old-Testamentary prefigurations, which appeared as prologues, epilogues, and intermezzi.

The further development of the sacred drama since the fifteenth century is closely associated with the genesis of the play at Oberammergau. A splendid work on this subject was published in 1880 by August Hartmann; and the labors of this renowned investigator have since been ably supplemented by Karl Trautmann. According to these writers, a tradition of the Oberammergau peasantry traces the beginning of their play—or "G'spiel," as the Bavarian dialect has it—back to the year 1633, when Oberammergau was stricken with a "pestilential contagion."

The Passion Play that the people of Oberammergau have since played, however, was furnished to them by the clergy of the Imperial monastery of Ettal. It originated at Augsburg, from which city an old commercial highway led over the mountains to Innsbrück and Venice. As one of the principal relay-stations on this route, Oberammergau gradually acquired many interesting products of culture, among them being the oldest existing text of the present play, preserved in a manuscript of 1662. According to this, the play was a combination of an Augsburg passion by St. Ulrich and Afra (fifteenth century) and a mastersinger play by Sebastian Wild (Augsburg, 1566). It is positively known that from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century many Easter and Passion plays were performed at Augsburg; and an interesting relic of this time, an Easter-Saturday service, has recently been brought to light.

The traces of the Latin Resurrection-plays and of the Lamentations are distinctly discernible also in the Passion by St. Ulrich. Its

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connection with the Eger production of the fourteenth century is manifest throughout; while further relationships may be traced to a Thuringian drama of 1391, a Bohemian, a Herzingen of the fifteenth century, and the celebrated Passion of Alsfeld. The Oberammergau play may be accepted as a type embodying the salient features of all the sacred dramas of mediæval times. One of its constituent parts, for example, the Augsburg Passion, with its simplicity of expression and manly utterance, transports us into the midst of German mediævalism, and recalls the rugged strength and unquestioning piety of that distant period. Indeed, so powerful are the main features that we gladly overlook the prolixity of detail.

In the Augsburg play a number of scenes also suggest the mediæval stage, with its tripartite construction, the *raison d'être* of which has not yet been clearly ascertained. In singular contrast to this disposition of all localities side by side is the limited scenic arrangement in the mastersinger play by Wild. In St. Ulrich's Passion each scene, as, for instance, the prayer at the Mount of Olives, the Crucifixion, and the Interment, could be locally represented—an impossibility upon the mastersinger stage, where numerous episodes were merely recited after the fashion of an epic poem.

These two Augsburg versions, the Passion Play and the Mastersong, were skilfully united by an unknown hand. The former, "Die Passionstragedi," was given in its original form as late as 1662. In 1680, however, an addendum of fourteen pages was inserted; and this supplement, found pasted in the original play-book, was borrowed from a Passion by Johann Aelbl, performed at Weilheim in 1600. Aelbl's work also was based on earlier models, such as the Zurich Passion of 1545—by the celebrated mastersinger Jacob Rueff—the two Freiburg plays of 1599 and 1604, and the Luzerne production of 1494, the last mentioned showing traces of still more remote origin. All these constituents survive in the Oberammergau version of to-day.

In Aelbl's play allegories are already introduced; and in the version of 1680 the soul is personified in five different ways. From then until 1750 we note a marked transformation as to form. Both the Passion and the Mastersong conception became influenced by the Jesuit drama and the Italian opera. Just as the Gothic church at Ettal was rebuilt in the rococo style, so the Passion of Christ was now glossed over and gilded with the veneer of the eighteenth century. Between 1740 and 1750 Father Ferdinand Rossner, of Ettal,

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prepared a revised version of the play, which was adopted at Dachau in 1760, and later also at Erl, in the Tyrol; and the general form of the present Oberammergau drama dates from that period. The words, music, nine treatises, and eighteen prefigurations, as existing to-day, may all be traced to the middle of the eighteenth century, as may also the explanatory choruses, the arias of the "guardian spirits," and the numerous allegories culminating in the greatly overladen apotheosis of Christ. While many salutary excisions have already been made, further careful pruning and revision, at the hands of an experienced artist, would, in this age of impartial historic research, undoubtedly be justifiable.

The repeated interdicts issued against the Oberammergau play have, on two occasions, seriously menaced the continuance of the performances. In 1770 even the petitions of the community could not procure a revocation of the order for their suppression; and not until the accession of Karl Theodor was a new concession granted, and that only with the express understanding that all objectionable features would be abrogated. On this occasion the unimportant changes were again undertaken by a clergyman of Ettal, Magnus Knipfelberger. In 1801 another prohibitive mandate was issued, and remained in force until 1811, when the reigning king, Franz Joseph, finally yielded to the entreaties of the indefatigable George Lang; Father Ottmar Weisz having in the meantime remodelled the verse.

In 1815 Weisz again undertook an improvement of the text, which was set to the chaste and simple music of Dedler. By this time the allegories had entirely disappeared, while the Alexandrines of the eighteenth century had been supplanted by an unostentatious prose version. In 1830 King Ludwig, that Mæcenas of the arts, stamped the performances with his personal approval, the venerable Goethe having previously spoken his "placet." This favorable movement was followed, twenty years later, by the publication of Edward Devrient's work, which attracted the widest attention, particularly in Protestant North Germany. Since then it has become fashionable for both believers and unbelievers to undertake an occasional pilgrimage to Oberammergau.

As we journey to Oberammergau, Munich, with its ancient and modern art treasuries, lies behind us. The train rushes along the borders of the "Starnberger See" toward the mountains, whose misty outlines are faintly visible in the distance. At Mundl, where

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a branch road has this year been opened, cars are changed, and we are swiftly carried past the broad green slopes of Mundl and Kofel to our destination. Many changes for better or worse have taken place here within the last decade; but the kernel remains intact. The parsonage is still surrounded by trim white cottages, with far-projecting roofs and shingles, and with quaint façades ornamented with rococo paintings in the Italian style. Here is still the so-called "House of Pilate," revealing, upon its architecturally enframed panels, "Christ before Pilate" and the "Resurrection." Most of these frescoes, it is said, were painted by a native of Oberammergau, the distinguished Franz Zwink, dubbed by his fellow-townsmen "der Lueft'lmaler."

Oberammergau is quite an artistic centre in its way. Wood-carvings of every description are annually sent forth from the little cottages here to every part of the world; and the crucifix-carver of Oberammergau is almost as well known as the Passion Play itself. Men, women, and children may here be seen congregated about their narrow work-tables busily engaged in carving multifarious designs, ranging in character from crucifixes and images of the saints to Moorish kings, elephants, oxen, asses, peasant dolls, and lords and ladies in old-fashioned garb; and among this motley aggregation we may not infrequently discover productions of real artistic value—fine carvings of white wood recalling the creations of the mediæval artisan. These wares were formerly vended by the natives, who journeyed abroad with their packs, and thus acquired a fund of new impressions. But the conditions here, as elsewhere, have now changed; and the commerce in these goods is conducted by agents whose connections extend to Russia, Denmark, Spain, and even across the ocean to South America.

Yet, after all, the interest of the community centres in the play. All are dominated by this one idea, and spend their time in preparation. The whole village participates in the performance. Every individual must experience the sacred story in his own way, and seek to identify himself with the rôle assigned to him. More particularly is this true of the leading actors in the drama. In addition to the necessary physical and mental endowments, a blameless life is here regarded as a primary requisite; and, in this connection, one learns that the assignment of very inferior rôles was formerly regarded as a sort of punishment.

The stage management, formerly in the hands of Ettal clergy-

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men, is now in charge of professionals; and this applies also to stage construction, decorations, and costumes. The financial department is conducted by a "Passion Committee," to which a supplementary "Bureau of Residences" has recently been added. Indeed, all departments are now organized upon a grander scale; and rates have greatly increased in consequence. On the other hand, better seats and ampler accommodations may now be secured. During the coming season, nineteen hundred rooms, furnished with thirty-five hundred beds, will be at the disposal of guests; and the auditorium will hold about four thousand persons. Formerly only a comparatively small portion of the theatre was enclosed, the spectators, for the most part, sitting in the open. At that time fully six thousand persons could be accommodated; and the impression was that of a great popular gathering. But exposure to the weather during a nine-hour performance was by no means a pleasant experience; and to obviate the difficulty a large hall has now been erected. This hall, which in appearance is not unlike one of our unsightly railroad stations, is spanned by six towering arches, each of which is forty-three metres broad and twenty metres high, but the stage still remains uncovered.

According to an ancient custom, the dawn of the festival is announced at three o'clock in the morning by a general reveille upon the drum. Soon the bells begin to peal, while the band marches through the village. At six o'clock high mass is celebrated with music; and after this, from every nook and corner of the village, one may perceive costumed figures hurrying to the theatre-meadow.

On entering the theatre one sees before him an open proscenium. There is but one curtain, and that upon the central stage; and the mediæval decorations and tripartite construction are discernible. It is the Renaissance stage of Shakespeare and of the Italian opera. Nevertheless, certain features still suggest the theatrical framework of the mediæval Passion; the time-honored method of detailed localization being preserved, for instance, in the balconied houses of Annas and Pilate, situated respectively at the right and left wings of the proscenium. This arrangement, whereby six distinct localities may be simultaneously presented, is borrowed from the mediæval Passion, and has been adopted by Otto Devrient in Goethe's Faust and Goetz von Berlichingen, and by Ernst Possart in representations of Shakespearian plays involving complicated and intricate changes of scenery.

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As the construction of the Oberammergau stage occasionally recalls the Attic theatre, so the chorus entering from both sides also strongly suggests antique models. The direct prototype of the Oberammergau chorus, however, was the mediæval "Proclamator," or, more directly perhaps, the herald of the mastersingers. As it is, each of the eighteen dramatic tableaux is enframed within a lyric commentary, effective or tedious as the case may be.

Inasmuch as the text-book of the forthcoming performances has not yet appeared, a detailed description of the action is not feasible. I shall, therefore, confine myself to an exposition of the principal features. Here, first and foremost, the entry of Christ into Jerusalem must be regarded as especially powerful. What tumultuous throngs of people are here presented! Hosanna! resounds behind the scenes; the curtain of the central stage rises, and we gaze far into the distance; for the background to the picture is here formed by the sunlit hills of Oberammergau. Groups of children, bearing palm-branches, now throng to the front of the scene, followed by men and women, young and old, in endless procession, swelling in numbers as they approach the proscenium, and, with gaze directed backward, waving palm-branches in greeting to Christ, who now appears in the background with His Apostles. The head of the procession disappears behind the scenes of the central stage only to emerge in the adjacent streets on both sides. Here the crowds, now compactly massed, enter the town-gates, and then pass obliquely across the foreground, where they take their stand.

Meanwhile, our gaze is directed to still another avenue, along which the high priests and scribes may be seen advancing. Indeed, throughout the entire first chorus we behold the surging of the festal multitudes until, finally, Christ appears in the broad circle of the outer stage and descends to address the multitude. "Every detail," as Edward Devrient remarks, "is conducted with a remarkable delicacy of sentiment." While the address is in progress, the curtain of the central stage is closed, so that the temple court, with the tables of the traders and money-lenders, may meanwhile be arranged. The scene opens, and Jesus enters to disperse the violators of the temple. Here again we find a magnificent ensemble—the confusion and anger of the traders whose money-tables have been overturned; the fluttering away of the liberated sacrificial doves; in the midst of all Christ in an attitude of lofty indignation; and in the foreground the scribes, wroth at the proceeding of Jesus, whom the multitude applaud.

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"All these complex groups [says Edward Devrient], though loud and vehement in their denunciation or approbation, are nevertheless clear and definite in expression. There is not the slightest suggestion of inarticulate noise; and Christ's address is clearly distinguishable throughout. Thus, while every feature is distinctly characteristic, the tout-ensemble is vivid and impressive."

One of the most striking features of this representation is the complete absence of statists, or mute performers. All participate in the action; and even the children speak and gesticulate. Says the director of the famous Meiningen troupe:

"The grouping of dense masses of the populace as here accomplished is a truly marvellous achievement. When the great difficulty of producing such effects with the well-drilled corps of our court-theatres is considered, even the most skilful manager cannot but stand abashed before the artistic sense, indefatigable diligence, and unity of effort characterizing the performances of these simple country folk."

Although somewhat deficient from the standpoint of high histrionic art, these performances impress us by their naïve simplicity and deep sincerity of purpose. Indeed, wherever an effort has been made to instruct these good people in the technique of acting, the charm has been broken, and the insufficiency of the achievement has become painfully evident. Less effective are the living pictures elucidated by the chorus. The idea is in accordance with traditional typology; but the execution is rarely effective from an artistic point of view, while the parallels, or points of comparison, are frequently inappropriate. Moreover, the action is interrupted by these intermezzi, which greatly extend the play, and render the performance of the Passion fragmentary.

And yet the multitudes that assemble here patiently remain throughout a performance lasting continuously from eight in the morning to half-past five in the evening. HANS DEVRIENT.

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HAWAII'S REAL STORY.

THE Hawaiian nation as a nation had hardly begun—back in the years when the various islands were consolidated under the regency of the first Kamehameha—before the movement was started which was to end in the utter dissolution of the kingdom nearly eighty years later. The beginning of this movement was made with the son of the first king, the chief Liholiho, who succeeded to the throne as Kamehameha II. At the time of his accession he was but a youth, 22 years of age. He was proud, impulsive, wilful, the true type of a Polynesian autocrat, brooking no opposition, and holding himself above the laws he himself promulgated. In many things he was the slave of his passions; and he openly violated the sacred Kapu, the ordinance of the priesthood, by which very many things were forbidden—a custom from which comes our word "taboo." In violating this, the most sacred institution known to that people, he unwittingly took the first step in the series of events that have led to the Hawaiian Islands becoming part and parcel of the territory of this Republic.

This step was soon succeeded by one fully as important in preparing the way for the advent of those influences destined to fit the people for the great political and social changes which have since taken place. The second step forward out of the gloom of absolute heathendom and gross superstition was the wholesale destruction, in the spring of 1820, of the idols and temples; and it followed closely upon the defeat in pitched battle of those who still clung to the ancient "Kapu," and who had risen in futile revolt against the new order of things. Then there landed on the shores of Hawaii the first of those who had been sent from the extreme eastern borders of the United States to preach the Gospel of Christ to a people who, by their own act, had cast aside the lowest form of idolatry, and were without any form of religious belief.

The arrival of these persons at this particular time, *i. e.*, just when the people were destroying the symbols of an idolatrous form of worship, was an event without parallel in the history of the world.

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From the moment the first American missionaries landed on the shores of Hawaii from the little brig "Thaddeus"—which, considering her mission, may be called the "Mayflower" of the Pacific—the work finally leading to the annexation of those isles to the United States steadily progressed. But the influences bringing about so momentous an event worked slowly, silently, and, for the most part, unsuspectedly in their trend for many years. In fact, it is only in the light of retrospection that it can be now seen that actually they were at work as early as I have indicated.

The first Kamehameha ruled the lands by right of conquest; having invaded and subdued them in succession from Hawaii, at the southeast of the chain, to Oahu, at the northwest, stopping short of Kauai—the "Garden" Island—a hundred miles still further to the northwest. The chief who ruled the latter, though he had nominally given his adherence to Kamehameha I, was still styled "King of the Seaward Isle" (*i. e.* Kauai and Niihau) by foreign powers. This title rankled in the breast of the great conqueror's successor, who resolved to extinguish it; so he "annexed" the island—diplomatically.

The annexation was dramatic, too; for, setting sail from Oahu in a small vessel, with but few retainers, as if on pleasure bent, the king suddenly, when off the north point of Oahu, commanded the helmsman to steer for Kauai. In spite of the protests of all his retainers, who feared his captivity and death on landing; in spite of his own ignorance of the exact location even of the island; and in spite of the hundred miles of stormy water to be traversed, he held on, and landed safely; and, contrary to all expectation—other than his own—he was received cordially by the chief, Kaumualii, whom he intended to depose.

Not only was his reception friendly, but Kaumualii of his own accord offered to turn over to Kamehameha's authority his fort and gems, as well as his "many men, muskets, and powder." The king, who had voluntarily placed himself at the mercy of the chief, must have felt relieved at this display of magnanimity; and he repaid it by inviting his powerful subject on board his vessel, and then carrying him away, an honorable prisoner of state, to Oahu, where he was compelled to marry the widow of his king's father, the dowager Queen Kaahumanu, while the king made one of his own adherents governor of the island he had so diplomatically acquired.

The last act of this ruler was in keeping with his whole life.

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He resolved, in 1824, to visit England and the United States "to see for himself" what were the effects of laws based on Christianity in the countries from which came his present teachers. But in England his visit was terminated by the death of himself and his consort. Though the royal pair could not inform their people of what had been told to them, the respect shown by the English Government to the remains of their late royal guests, which were brought to the islands in a Government vessel, produced a profound impression on the minds of the chiefs and the people—convincing them that in following the instructions and advice of their foreign teachers they had begun to take a place among the civilized nations of the world.

But the feelings engendered by the kindly actions of the British Government and people, on this and other occasions, could not diminish the stronger sentiments of love and veneration which the islanders felt toward those who had come to them from the United States, as the pioneers in the work of Christianizing and humanizing them by daily example and precept. The influence of those missionaries, whose numbers were increased from time to time, was naturally felt in affairs of state as well as in religious matters. In the latter it was paramount, but in all temporal concerns they were consulted. In his "History of the Sandwich Islands," Jarvis says that "although the missionaries erred in judgment on some points, the general influence of their body was to enlarge the liberty of the subjects."

As time went on there were those among the British residents who foresaw the further introduction of republican principles, and, as a natural consequence, the final absorption of the islands into the American Union. To counteract this influence they introduced into the islands, in 1827, priests of the Roman Catholic Church. But this move reacted on its originators; for the priests selected and sent out came from France, and their acts well-nigh led to the supremacy of that nation in the islands. This would probably have been the result had the new form of faith met with popular favor. For a while the religious controversy that ensued between missionary and priest raged furiously; and many of the things said and done, by over-zealous partisans on both sides, could not fail to shake the belief of the simple-minded natives in the meekness, forbearance, and brotherly love of their Christian teachers. But the final outcome, as affecting the liberty of the subject, was the securing to him of perfect freedom to worship God, without interference by the state.

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This right, with others, was accorded to them in the first constitution, promulgated by Kamehameha III, in 1840. Besides guaranteeing freedom of conscience to all, this instrument provided for the annual election by the people of a certain number of representatives "to sit in council with the chiefs, and establish laws for the nation." The chiefs spoken of constituted the "Upper House," and for many years the two classes of lawmakers sat together as the legislature.

Thus, a quarter of a century from the consolidation of the government of the islands under the supreme rule of Kamehameha I, who lived and died an idolater, and twenty years after the introduction of Christianity into the islands, the people were living under an intelligently administered monarchy—nominally limited, though actually autocratic. Such was the status of the government and the people of "Hawaii-nei" (*i. e.*, the group collectively) at the close of what may be called the first step in the process of absorption into the territory of the United States.

During the next period of 24 years the progress made in educating the people in self-government—republicanism—was hardly perceptible. This was due in a great measure to the fact that during much of that time the autonomy of the kingdom was seriously imperilled through certain acts of British and French residents and official representatives. Thus, for example, in 1842, while the United States acknowledged the independence of the kingdom, the commander of a British war vessel and the British consul compelled Kamehameha III to cede the islands to the British Government; and the English flag was hoisted over the fort at Honolulu. But, as soon as it was intimated that this act was considered an "unfriendly" one, because the United States had but a few months before acknowledged the independence of the kingdom, the islands were restored to their king, the Hawaiian flag was rehoisted and saluted, and four months later the independence of the kingdom was recognized jointly by England and France.

In those troublous times the most conspicuous figure in the ranks of the "Missionary Party," as the body of pioneer missionaries and their friends began to be called, was Doctor Gerritt P. Judd, who had accompanied the second party of missionaries as practising physician. From the time of his arrival Dr. Judd displayed so much ability in his profession, so much energy of mind and body, and so much tact and shrewdness in advising upon political and social affairs, that he was, in 1842, constrained to take office

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under the Government as Minister of Public Instruction. Upon doing so he severed his formal connection with the body of missionaries, in compliance with the general policy of the Missionary Board which forbade its agents engaged in spiritual work to take formal part in secular affairs outside of their own earthly concerns.

During the succeeding ten years Dr. Judd became chief adviser to the king; and during the temporary cession of the islands to Great Britain he concealed and guarded the public archives, and practically set at defiance the British naval officer and consul. He was Minister of Public Instruction, of the Interior, and of Finance, and, as such, virtual ruler of the kingdom. In 1849 he was sent to the United States on a diplomatic mission, taking with him Lot Kamehameha and Alexander Liholiho, nephews of Kamehameha III, who occupied the throne afterwards as Kamehamehas IV and V; and upon the return of the party he resumed his duties in the administration. But, as it became evident as time went on that Dr. Judd was determined to concentrate all the power in himself, a mass meeting was held, in 1853, and a committee from that body demanded of the king, and obtained from him, Dr. Judd's dismissal from office, and honorable retirement to private life.

At the time, his retirement was looked upon by the body of men and women he represented as a severe blow to their hopes and aspirations. They had so long identified themselves with the Hawaiians that they had come to look with jealousy and misgivings upon the advent and influence of foreigners not directly connected with the Missions. In a certain sense they looked upon the native people as their own—people whom they had led out of the bondage of idolatry, and to whom they had imparted the knowledge of their having souls and of how they might be redeemed. All this, they felt, had been done with such good results that, in 1870, on the fiftieth anniversary of the introduction of Christianity, they concluded that the time had come for declaring, officially, that their "missionary" work had been accomplished, that the people had been enlightened and Christianized, that spiritually they were able to stand alone, and that in spiritual affairs they needed no longer to be regarded as the wards of the American Board of Missions, or, in political matters, as the wards of any foreign power.

They believed, as a body, that the land—a goodly heritage—was for the Hawaiians, and that it should remain so forever; not realizing that while the race was being elevated, spiritually and mor-

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ally, to a high plane of intelligence, it was decaying physically, and that the loss of its autonomy was, therefore, near at hand. They did realize, however, that, though firmly grounded in the Christian faith and in the tenets of self-government, the Hawaiians were easily blown about by every wind of political and religious doctrine, and would always need their (the missionaries') counsel and advice. But those sturdy pioneers felt that their day was drawing to a close; and they began to look to their sons to succeed them in the supervision of affairs, both spiritual and temporal. To prepare them for this work, by far the greater number of the young men were sent for their higher education to the United States, of which they were "citizens," though born on foreign soil; and there they fitted themselves for the practice of law or medicine, or to engage in commerce or in agriculture.

When these young men returned to the kingdom they were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Americanism, and impressed with the idea that it was the destiny of the kingdom to become, in the near future, a part of the great Republic. But they realized from the outset that this idea was repugnant to their elders, to whom such destiny did not appear as manifest as it did to the sons. It was, indeed, the earnest hope and desire of the elders that the young men should perpetuate the independence of the kingdom, by advising and directing its sovereigns, as the elders had done up to that time. It was the old battle of 19th century religious and political progress against 16th century puritanical conservatism. The latter was rendered more stubborn by the exercise over a nation for half a century of an authority which, though beneficent as a whole, was autocratic; being controlled and directed up to that time by the narrow politico-theologic policy of the American Board of Missions in far-away Boston, as promulgated in annual letters to the missions in the islands—a policy restrictive, inflexible, and unsuited to the exigencies of present times and circumstances.

During his reign the king and his advisers were constantly annoyed and alarmed by intrigues and covert demonstrations looking to the dismemberment of the kingdom. But through it all they were sustained by the confidential assurances of protection made to them by the United States Government, as well as by the resolute declaration of Mr. Marcy, then Secretary of State, to England and France, that the Government he represented "would not allow them [the islands] to be owned by or fall under the protec-

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tion of either of those powers, or of any other European nation." "And," he added, "it seems inevitable that they must come under the control of this [the United States] Government, and it would be but reasonable and fair that these powers should acquiesce in such a disposition of them, provided the transference was effected by fair means." This declaration was made in the latter part of 1853, and was steadily adhered to through the succeeding years. And those years were marked by a series of events which still further prepared the Hawaiians for the coming change.

Kamehameha III died, and was succeeded by Alexander, as Kamehameha IV. Through his marriage to Emma Rooke—the daughter of an English resident who had married a native woman of rank—the young king's affiliations were all decidedly English. He was, therefore, opposed to the negotiations looking toward American annexation, which had been set on foot during the reign of his predecessor; and these were broken off and remained in abeyance during his reign of nearly ten years.

In 1863 Kamehameha died, and was succeeded by his brother Lot, who ascended the throne as Kamehameha V. He showed himself to be a true type of the ancient Kamehamehas. He believed fully in the "divine right" of kings, above all in that of the dynasty of which he was the last representative; and, as far as he was able, he restored the rule of irresponsible chieftainship.

Among the earliest public acts of Kamehameha IV was the abrogation of the existing constitution, the calling of a convention to frame another, and then the dismissal of it and the proclaiming of one of his own. Under the provisions of this document no act of the legislature could become a law without his signature, which he could withhold without assigning any reason for doing so. He chose and dismissed the members of his cabinet at his pleasure. He appointed "Nobles" for life, who sat and voted, as did his cabinet officers, in the legislature. The number of these soon equalled that of the representatives, so that he could always control legislative action. As the writer has said in another place:

"The same inherited love of power and semi-barbaric display which controlled him in forming this famous 'Constitution' influenced him strongly in his feelings toward those who were, and had been for many years, trying to elevate his people in moral, social, and religious life. Without being openly hostile to such he was a dead weight upon them. He held to the traditions of his forefathers, and, though nominally a Christian, was in thought and feeling a heathen. Inordinately proud of his name and rank as a 'Kame-

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hameha,' he held to the last his belief in his 'divine right' to rule, and dying refused to name a successor, since in him the royal family died too."

It is, perhaps, needless to say that under his reign the question of annexation was largely neglected. Apparently, in fact, it was wholly superseded by that of establishing reciprocal commercial relations between the two countries. This scheme met with great favor amongst the foreign residents on the islands, and might have been carried through at that time had it not been for the fears expressed by Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, in a letter written by him to Mr. McCook, minister resident on the island, in which he said:

"A lawful and peaceful annexation of the Islands to the United States, with the consent of the people of the Sandwich Islands, is deemed desirable by this Government; and if the policy of annexation should really conflict with the policy of reciprocity, annexation is in every case to be preferred."

While Kamehameha V was not opposed to the scheme of reciprocity, having in fact encouraged it, he was known to be implacably hostile to any movement looking toward annexation. This feeling, with his intense pride as the last of his dynasty, led him to refuse to name a successor to the throne. Upon his death, that office, for the first time in the history of the islands, became elective, and a proclamation was made for the legislature to convene at an early date for the purpose of choosing a successor.

There were two candidates for this high office, namely, the Dowager Queen Emma, relict of Kamehameha III, and the avowed representative of the British element; and Lunalilo, a chief of the highest rank, and the steadfast friend of the American missionaries. As it was fully understood that the choice of the legislature would result in the triumph of either the republican or the monarchical principle, preparations were quietly made to secure the former; and the people of the islands were called upon to signify their choice at a popular election held a short time before the assembling of the legislature. This was done, and Lunalilo being the unanimous choice of the people throughout the group, there was nothing for the legislative body to do, when they met, but to carry out the will of their constituents.

It may be added, in this connection, as illustrative of the importance of this popular election to the missionary party, that the venerable Dr. Judd rose from a bed of sickness to cast his vote for "Prince William," whose first act almost, as King Lunalilo, was

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to visit his beloved "father" in his retirement. A few months later he followed Dr. Judd's remains to their last resting-place.

Lunalilo had reigned barely twelve months before annexation was freely discussed. But the Hawaiian people had too recently given expression to their wishes in their choice of a sovereign to be ready to vote for so radical a change; and it was not lost sight of, by even the most ardent of the annexationists, that "the consent of the people" was the one condition insisted upon by the Government of the United States as necessary to the consummation of such an event.

During his brief reign Lunalilo called into his council, as members of his cabinet, or as nobles, several of the pioneer missionaries; while their sons took their places on the bench, at the bar, in the legislature, and in the civil service of the kingdom. Their influence was exerted at that time to bring about a reciprocity treaty; and to secure this an offer was made to cede Pearl Harbor, near Honolulu, to the United States as a *quid pro quo*.

This proposition met with violent opposition from a strong Hawaiian element which was led by the man who later controlled the political and material affairs of the kingdom for a number of years. This was Mr. W. M. Gibson, a Virginian by birth, a man of great ability and possessed of marked political sagacity, but, at the same time, a man of expedients, whose aim it was to hold all power himself. It was he who now came forward as the champion of Hawaiian independence. "Hawaii for the Hawaiians" was the motto he selected; and it was chiefly through his efforts that the cabinet of the king was constrained to withdraw the tender of Pearl Harbor to the United States. While this act brought the reciprocity negotiations to a standstill for the time being, it really helped forward annexation; for it was then looked upon as a foregone conclusion, by the majority of the business men, that if reciprocity could not be achieved, to avoid commercial bankruptcy annexation must be brought about.

King Lunalilo died in February, 1874. Since he, like his immediate predecessor, failed to appoint a successor to the throne, the legislature was again called together to elect a sovereign. At this time also two candidates were put forward. One was the Dowager Queen Emma, who represented, as before, the English party; the other was Kalakaua, the descendant of a noble family distinct from the Kamehamehas. The latter, though hardly in

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sympathy, and certainly not identified, with the American missionary party, was supported by its members and elected. On that occasion the defeated natives betrayed the inability of the race to govern itself. In discussing this event the writer said:

> "For the past hundred years the supreme authority had been invested in one family. And when that family died out, and the people were told they could choose their ruler from the few remaining representatives of noble families, they were intoxicated with their newly acquired privilege, and at this election the minority expressed their displeasure at their defeat by murderously attacking the representatives and indulging in a serious riot."

Inasmuch as it was necessary, in order to quell this riot, to call on the commanders of the two United States war vessels then in the harbor of Honolulu, and for Mr. Pierce, the American minister resident, to use his personal influence with the defeated candidate to secure her peaceful acquiescence in the election of Kalakaua, the United States Government realized two important facts: (1) That it was in a certain sense responsible for the establishment of Kalakaua on the throne; and (2) that the consent of the natives to annexation might not, after all, be of such prime importance, inasmuch as they had proved their inability to govern themselves.

During the following twelve years events tending to weaken the monarchy and to strengthen republicanism followed each other in rapid succession. Commercial reciprocity with the United States was established, and as a result millions of dollars poured into the islands each year in exchange for the enormously increased output of island products, particularly sugar. The king, who at the commencement of his reign called to his cabinet and council men distinguished for their worth and high standing in the community, soon allowed himself to be carried away by specious plans for his own political aggrandizement; and his racial fondness for display and extravagance led him into ways which his then official advisers could not countenance.

It was at this time that Mr. W. M. Gibson, who was now a power in the legislature, was called into the cabinet as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. While ably conducting these affairs, he managed to bring all the other government departments under his control; and by keeping the king amused he gradually kept him from taking an active part in the important affairs of his kingdom. He created the "Palace party," and openly pitted himself and it against the missionary element, then designated the "Fort Street Church" party.

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The latter, realizing that the king was entirely under Mr. Gibson's influence, and finding that it was useless to attempt to bring about reforms through ordinary constitutional methods, resolved to effect the desired reforms through revolutionary acts. Their first step lay in abandoning the native element, and in enlisting in the proposed movement British, French, German, and other foreigners—aliens and subjects alike. This accomplished, they organized these elements into an effective, armed force, with which they finally compelled the king to dismiss the Gibson ministry, and to sign a new constitution, which left him but the outward show of kingship, and vested all political power in themselves. Whether even this show of royal state and power would have been long left to Kalakaua is an open question. His death, which occurred but a short time later, while he was visiting San Francisco, placed his sister, Liliuokalani, on the throne, she having been named his successor during his lifetime.

The story of her reign is short. Being a woman of great force of character she could not brook the restraints thrown about her by the terms of a constitution which her people had no voice in framing, and which virtually disfranchised them. Betrayed by her strong, passionate nature into the utterance of rash, ill-advised threats, she was easily convicted of plotting to overthrow those in power, and as easily deposed. On the ruins of the monarchy rose a shadowy Provisional Government, which in the end was extinguished by the annexation of the islands to the United States.

That this was the foreordained destiny of the Hawaiian Islands those who have carefully followed their history for the past century can hardly doubt. That the Government of the United States has steadfastly believed this to be their ultimate destiny is proved by the declarations of successive administrations during the entire period. But the people of our great Republic did not recognize this ultimate destiny until they had, by intervention on behalf of another island people, involved themselves in a war that resulted in the acquisition of other remote island territory, to hold which demanded the possession of the Hawaiian group. F. L. Clarke.

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LESSONS OF THE $175,000,000 ASH-HEAP.

THE destruction of insurable values now going on in all sections of the United States will rank among the strangest vicissitudes of American underwriting. Although the great cities are supplied with most alert fire departments, with more buildings constructed on fireproof principles than ever before, with experienced inspectors working in the interests of insurance companies to lessen the fire hazard, the record of loss to date for this year exceeds that reported in almost any previous year save at exceptional periods, when such disasters as the great fires at Chicago and Boston occurred, which not only crippled several insurance companies, but frightened others into liquidation.

In 1899, according to "Chronicle" tables, the value of the property destroyed by fire in the United States exceeded the sum of $150,000,000. This year we shall pay $175,000,000 for our "national ash-heap," unless the loss records improve. Within the limits of Greater New York, the fire losses in 1899 were greatly in excess of those reported the preceding year; the losses in Manhattan alone reaching $7,458,840 in 1899, as against $4,155,191 in 1898. In Philadelphia the situation has been even worse.

Pittsburg has lately reported a $1,000,000 fire in a building erected about two years ago upon plans furnished by experts interested in avoiding the fire-trap features of a structure which was burned on the same site a few months earlier. This fire has demonstrated, beyond dispute, that fireproof buildings are oftentimes not what they are reputed to be. Chicago has also had heavy losses, and unless conditions improve in that city the insurance companies will pay out more than they take in. In many other places also heavy losses have occurred; the greatest disasters curiously enough befalling the very risks which underwriters had insured at low rates, in the belief that the hazard was small, and the property on the whole well protected.

Now what lesson is supplied by this $175,000,000 "ash-heap?"

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Does it disprove our theories of fireproof construction, and show that the fire-hazard of our modern "sky-scraping" office buildings and hotels is greater than we had been led to suppose? Or does it signify that "four-story fire departments" are antiquated devices in these days of thirty-story buildings, and that to protect life and property at the great centres of population means must be found for raising the standard of our municipal fire-extinguishing equipment above what is now considered essential?

An insurance expert is authority for the statement that there is not a fireproof building in New York city to-day. While that may be an exaggeration, it is probably true that we have trusted too much in the protection afforded by massive beams and steel framework. Large-area buildings of great height, no matter how perfect the construction, may not, in the long run, prove safer than the four-story structures of fifty years ago, whose upper floors could be easily reached by an ordinary fire-ladder. With escaping gases confined beneath asphalt pavements threatening explosions in the cellars of abutting property, with heavily charged wires penetrating modern buildings at every floor and running criss-cross from structure to structure, with powerful engines and independent lighting plants installed in most modern buildings, it is a question whether many of the improvements of nineteenth-century civilization have not more than counterbalanced the advantages of improved construction as regards the fire hazards of large cities.

However this may be, it is certainly true that a single fire to-day might entail more fearful consequences than half a dozen losses fifty years ago. Then, but twenty or fifty tenants were domiciled in a single structure; now, thousands have offices under one roof. Of course, the "conflagration hazard" has been lessened by the monuments of stone and steel which block a fire's progress in our great cities to-day. In New York city the entire district west of Broadway in the vicinity of Warren street might have been destroyed two years ago, had it not been for the resistance offered by the Home Life Building, which was enveloped in flames while the wind blew a hurricane. The structure acted as a barrier, and undoubtedly saved adjoining property. This fire, however, opened the eyes of underwriters to the real state of affairs, and led to a revision of rates on many large buildings which had been insured for almost nothing during the disastrous competition among insurance companies to secure a great volume of premium income. Experts

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turned again to the problem of extinguishing fires, and all agreed that "four-story fire departments" could not be relied upon to extinguish flames in buildings 300 feet high. The stand-pipe system of forcing water through street attachments to the roofs of tall structures, which has since been installed in some buildings, has no doubt solved the problem of protecting much that is valuable on lower Broadway.

The Home Life blaze, which has been studied by experts throughout the world, illustrates the danger in any locality having a congested population, narrow thoroughfares, and "sky-scraping" buildings. The tall structure was attacked from the side by flames which broke out in a building of ordinary construction. The small building was devoured in no time; and although the big fellow resisted nobly, it nevertheless succumbed when the glass in dozens of exposed windows gave way under the fearful heat. While there was little within the building for the flames to feed upon, there were no barriers to obstruct the draught area of the elevator shafts; so that within a few minutes an upper story was converted into a roaring furnace. Everything was done to save the property, but the wind was blowing a gale at the time, and it seemed as if the firemen were using squirt guns to put out the flames. It soon became evident that little could be done to extinguish the blaze; and thousands of spectators witnessed the unusual sight of flames playing havoc with the upper stories of a magnificent building in the presence of the best equipped fire department in the country. That fire was a $1,000,000 object-lesson, which insurance men and engineering experts everywhere will not soon forget!

Most of the destructive fires that have recently laid waste important blocks in the business sections of large cities have repeated the lesson of the Broadway blaze in at least one or two particulars. They have made experts hesitate to call a building fireproof until the "exposure hazard" has been ascertained, *i.e.*, until it has been learned how great is the danger from the proximity of neighboring tinder-boxes. The business section of almost any large city will furnish examples of the most approved structures standing beside old rookeries liable to destruction at a moment's notice. The disadvantages of the latter might almost counterbalance, under trying conditions, the good points of the former; the actual difference between them being the question over which experts are now puzzling.

Then, too, the "blizzard hazard," although sometimes over-

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looked, may prove costly any dark night when the streets of a great city are covered with snow. A case in point was the partial destruction of a business building near the financial district of an important commercial centre. The firemen were summoned promptly, but the horses had difficulty in hauling the heavy apparatus through the snow, which choked the narrow thoroughfares. Because of the bitter cold, the hydrants were hard to manage; but the firemen were fortunate enough to confine the blaze to a single block, at a property loss, I think, of less than $1,000,000. Had the wind taken the flames across the street, a most valuable territory would have been invaded, where the old-style buildings would have fed a fire of great destructiveness.

Now, the remedy for all this is easily within our grasp. It is merely the question of common sense and a very few dollars. Any city big enough to support an elevated railway system is certainly important enough to maintain an elevated fire service. With our magnificent modern buildings towering in the air as high as church steeples, we must find something better than the step-ladder device of the water-tower with which to protect life and property.

By means of the stand-pipe system of forcing water to the top of tall structures we can throw a stream from the roof of a building three hundred feet away. Why not install such plants throughout the congested districts of all our large cities, and place the extinguishing forces in instant command of anything on fire for blocks around? Are we not rather backward in adhering to the uphill method of fighting fires inherited from the time of our grandfathers, who easily reached the top story of the highest office-building of their day, when we might in an instant send men by express elevators to unlock the floodgates of water upon a burning building at the very vantage point of attack?

In New York it might cost say $1,000,000 to protect in this way the dry-goods district, where $900,000,000 of insurable values are thought to be concentrated; and this expense would be trifling in comparison with the premiums derived from that business section. With streams of water pouring on a burning building from above and below, what chance would there be for flames to gain much headway? Picture to yourself a dozen firemen struggling with heavy hose up twenty flights of stairs and along strange, dark hallways, and you will get an idea of the difficulties the elevated service would entirely avoid. At best, the present system offers nothing

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but a zigzag connection with the street engine, there being constant danger of the hose giving way at a sharp corner somewhere. Think, too, of the time consumed in effecting this imperfect connection, and that seconds saved are dollars gained.

The stand-pipe service is very simple, consisting of little more than two fair-sized iron pipes connected with the water system and extending from the cellar to the roof of a tall building. The pipes are penetrated at the curb by two openings affording nozzle connection with a fire engine in the street; so that, when the firemen arrive, they have merely to run the hose a distance of fifteen or twenty feet from the engine to the stand-pipe, send a few men to the roof to handle the equipment there, turn on the pressure, and begin the work of extinguishing. This service might be supplemented, in the case of very large buildings, by stationary engines and independent pumping plants, which could be utilized in emergencies.

Think of what such protection would mean in the case of a hotel blaze, where hundreds of guests are often penned in little rooms opening into air-shafts or enclosed courts. It is well enough to point to coils of hose and polished nozzles in the hallways, and to estimate the number of gallons that could be thrown upon a certain spot in a given time. But in case of a panic, with men, women, and children blocking the passage-ways, and fighting to board overcrowded elevators, it might be very difficult, even for firemen, to get the apparatus in working order.

I well remember the complacent assurance of a clerk at the ill-fated Windsor Hotel in New York as he answered my query about the fire hazard of that structure: "It would be impossible for this house to burn," he said. "Twenty watchmen are on duty all night, and flames could not gain headway without their knowledge. The house is watched so carefully that a disaster could not occur!" He seemed almost offended at my apparent unwillingness to accept his view of the situation; and had I suggested the possibility of the building burning to the ground in broad daylight, with thirty fire-engines in attendance, I suppose he would have considered me incapable of appreciating the ability of uniformed hall boys to smell smoke, and of a dozen chamber-maids to cry out the alarm.

The elevated service could probably be utilized to excellent advantage in some small towns and villages, where most of the buildings centre around the town-hall or the church. Here it might be well to install a stand-pipe system within range of the

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most hazardous section. It does not matter how the pipes are arranged, whether perpendicularly or horizontally, so long as the elevation can be attained. Any plumber could do the work. Enlightened communities will ultimately, I believe, demand this system. Whatever may be done within the next decade to promote the safety of life and property, I feel sure that we shall sooner or later come to realize that to let water run down-hill is easier than to try to force it up-hill.

Mr. Edward Atkinson says that all who have combined for purposes of mutual insurance in the United States have soon learned this lesson—that the only persons who can prevent loss by fire are the owners or occupants of the insured premises. In France, where a rigid personal responsibility attaches to the assured, decided progress has been made toward lowering the cost of insurance. Chicago has recognized the necessity of improving its public buildings by making theatre-owners pay heavily for their neglect. On this basis a playhouse properly constructed, affording virtually the advantages of fireproof protection, is insured for $2.50 per $1,000 of insurance. To this rate, an additional charge of from five to fifty cents is made for each specified deficiency; bringing the price to prohibitive proportions in instances where protective measures have been utterly ignored.

When property-owners realize that the fire-rate is nothing less than a tax, which can be materially reduced by the exercise of proper care on their own part, and the insurance companies recognize the necessity of correcting the evils incident to the annual scramble for business without regard to questions of "moral hazard" or the fundamental principles of underwriting, we shall hear less about the fire waste in large cities, and about such fearful disasters as Ottawa's late conflagration.

WILLIAM JUSTUS BOIES.

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KIAOCHOU: A GERMAN COLONIAL EXPERIMENT.

The immediate prelude to Germany's colonial career in Asia was the murder, by a Chinese mob, of two German missionaries, at the village of Yen Chou-fu, in southern Shantung, on November 1, 1897. The murder was a cowardly deed, worthy of the severest punishment; and the promptness with which the avenging Kaiser struck gained the approval of the foreign communities in China, and of the press abroad. The German minister demanded from the Peking Government an apology for the attack, indemnity for the families of the victims, compensation for the expense his Government had incurred, and the lease of a naval station upon the coast of China.

The Chinese agreed readily to the first three demands, and Germany did not wait for their formal consent to the fourth, which, in fact, seems to have little connection with the others; but, on November 14, of the same year, she landed a force at Tsingtau, in Kiaochou Bay, in Shantung, and took possession of the forts and adjacent territory. This occupation was supposed to be temporary only; but two years have passed since then, and the German flag still flies over Tsingtau, which is now as much German territory as are the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

The seizure of Chinese territory was deliberately planned. It was foreshadowed in the speech of Baron Marshal von Bieberstein in the Reichstag, in November, 1896. He stated on that occasion that the interests of Russia and of Germany would give them an opportunity of acting in harmony in the Far East. In the Kiaochou incident this opportunity came; and Russia's acquiescence in Germany's aggression, in spite of her promise in the Cassini Convention to protect China, indicates a prior understanding between the two Powers. The German legation was probably instructed to seize on the first opportunity to make demands for territory; and the German minister at Peking is reported as having said that the attack by the Chinese upon some German officers in the boat of the "Cormoran," at Wuchang, an incident which shortly followed the murder of the missionaries, would have served his purpose quite as well.

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If there is any doubt upon this question, the remarks of German statesmen and the German press, after the event, dispel it. In a discussion on Chinese affairs in the Reichstag, on April 27, 1898, Herr von Bülow, Secretary of State, made an unusually candid statement. He said that the partition of China would not be brought about by Germany; but, he added:

"All we have done is to provide that, come what may, we ourselves shall not go empty-handed. The traveller cannot decide when the train is to start, but he can make sure not to miss it, when it does start. The devil takes the hindmost. But we do not desire—and I beg to impress this point on you—we do not desire a partition of China, and I do not believe that there is an immediate prospect of such division. But, in any case (and here, I think, I can best enumerate the advantages secured to us by the occupation of the port as well as the reasons which induced it) in any case, I say, we have secured in Kiaochou a strategical and political position which assures us a decisive influence on the future of the Far East. From this strong position we can look with complacency on the development of affairs. We have such a large sphere of action and such important tasks before us that we have no occasion to grudge other nations the concessions made to them. German diplomacy will pursue its way in the East, as everywhere else, calmly, firmly, and peacefully. We will never play the part of mischief maker, nor will we play that of Cinderella."

This statement is an equally clear analysis of Germany's motives in seizing Kiaochou and of her intentions for the future. There is no probability that she will ever give it up, and it is practically certain that she will extend first her influence and then her actual control over the whole of Shantung. The Kaiser has himself declared that soil on which German soldiers have died in the performance of their duty and on which the German eagle has once laid his claws shall always remain German territory. So far as China is concerned, she has lost a province. She may erase from her map Shantung, as she has already done in the case of Formosa and practically of Manchuria. In the treaty of Shimonoseki, in 1895, Japan showed how easy spoliation was; and, to revert to Herr von Bülow's picturesque simile, we may now regard the train as pretty well under way, with Japan, Russia, France, England, and Germany provided with reserved compartments.

China at once recognized the German colony as an established fact, and lost little time in accepting the inevitable. The seizure of Kiaochou was formally ratified in a convention entered into at Peking between the Chinese Government and the German minister, on March 6, 1898. The preamble of this convention states that the Emperor of China, being desirous of preserving the existing good relations with the Emperor of Germany, and of promoting an in-

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crease of German power and influence in the Far East, grants a lease for ninety-nine years for certain land in Shantung, covering both sides of the entrance to the bay and an area around it. The sovereignty of China is said to be retained, but it has become a very attenuated prerogative. It is provided that she shall make no laws or do any other act having reference to the leased territory without Germany's consent. In particular, the movement of Chinese troops within 100 *li* (about 33 miles) of high water around Kiaochou Bay is prohibited. Germany has the right to build forts as well as naval and coaling stations, and to occupy with troops the mainland and islands adjoining the entrance to the bay. It is provided that, in order to reduce possibility of friction between the two powers, the government of the leased territory shall be in the hands of Germany.

In this convention there is a peculiar provision that if Germany wishes to give up this land before the ninety-nine years expire China shall take over the whole area and pay Germany for the costs she has incurred, and in such case Germany may have another place on the coast. The convention has a supplement regarding railway and mining concessions, providing that Germany may build certain railroads in Shantung, connecting Kiaochou with the mineral fields of the province and with the proposed trunk lines of the empire. It provides, also, that mines may be opened, in which work German subjects shall have preference, and in the development of which Chinese capitalists may coöperate, if they wish. In the articles providing for railways and mining rights it was deemed necessary to add these clauses:

"In inaugurating a railway system in Shantung, Germany entertains no treacherous intention toward China, and undertakes not to seize unlawfully any land in the province.

"In trying to develop mining property in China, Germany is actuated by no treacherous motives against this country, but seeks only to increase commerce and improve the relations between the two countries."

The Chinese official mind is too intelligent to be much reassured by these two clauses as to German designs on the government of Shantung; but they will be useful in placating the people, who need to be convinced that foreign railroad and mining projects portend no harm to them, and that government by foreigners does not mean confiscation. The moral aspect of such action as that of the German Government in Shantung is an interesting consideration. It is as wrong for governments as it is for individuals to take away the

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property of others; but in speaking of the seizure by one government of the territory of another we must not be misled by the analogy of private property. To characterize the seizure of Kiaochou as "an act of piracy," as was freely done in the anti-German press, is to lose sight of this distinction. When a government takes territory from another it acquires no property, except such as is devoted to the machinery of government. Private property remains in the hands of its previous owners, and the annexing government, as a rule, obtains the power of administration only.

If the result of this change of masters were to impoverish the annexed population and enrich the aggressor a great wrong would be done; but when annexation means the substitution of prosperity for poverty, enlightenment for ignorance, justice for extortion, and when the advantages all fall to the ruled and the burden of labor and expense is the reward of the rulers, much may be said to modify, perhaps even to justify, the initial wrong. Besides, there is no statute of limitations between nations which determines when title becomes incontestable; and the Manchu masters of China may derive whatever comfort they can from the fact that their ancestors, some two and a half centuries ago, were the aggressors, and imposed a foreign dynasty upon the people of Shantung and upon those of the other provinces of the Middle Kingdom. Germany probably cares very little how the moralist looks at her policy; and the moralist himself may reflect that there is little abstract justice in the relations of states, and may rejoice when he finds aggression leading to beneficial changes.

In seeking a *point d'appui* in China, Germany was directed to Kiaochou by both physical and political considerations. Except Shantung, there was scarcely a province in which she could have planted herself without encroaching on the alleged rights of others. It is a sad commentary on the decadence of China that there is scarcely any desirable territory along the coast which does not fall within some foreign government's "sphere of influence." To have gone north of Shantung would have been to enter a field where the White Czar is self-predestined master. South of Shantung, in the provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang, we come upon the Yangtze Valley, which has been staked out by England in a shadowy agreement with China that no part thereof shall be alienated to any other power. The coast of Fukien, further south, has been preëmpted by Japan, by virtue of her annexation of Formosa—a preëmption which has

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been recognized by the Chinese Government in an agreement, made in April, 1898, that no part of this province shall be alienated to any nation but Japan. In the next two provinces, Kuangtung and Kuangsi, any German establishment would have been regarded with more than disfavor by England and France.

Shantung, therefore, was almost the only place left, and in Shantung the only available place was Kiaochou Bay. This bay is a great sheet of water twenty miles in width, with an outlet to the Yellow Sea only one mile and three-quarters wide. This outlet is commanded by headlands, about six hundred feet in altitude, admirably suited for fortifications. There are eleven or twelve fathoms of water in the entrance, and in the bay itself the depth varies from twelve to thirty fathoms. The wide area of the bay makes it unsuitable for riding at anchor; the sea becoming very rough in storms, and sometimes positively dangerous for small boats. Accordingly, ships at present anchor under shelter of the promontory, near the little island of Tsingtau (Green Island), which has given its name to the young German city on the adjoining mainland. The island itself has been renamed Arcona, in reference to Germany's naval victory over the Danes. Further inside the bay, just behind the peninsula which forms the northern shore of the entrance, a great breakwater is under construction, which will afford the finest harbor on the coast from Hongkong to Port Arthur. Hongkong is British, Port Arthur is Russian, Kiaochou is German, and China has not a single deep-water harbor for herself except that of Amoy.

The country behind Tsingtau, the *hinterland*, is fertile and picturesque. Already the higher mountains have given up their Chinese names and have been rechristened in the tongue of their new masters. The highest is Prinz Heinrich Berg, another Signal Berg, another Bismarck. The soil in the valleys is fertile, capable of producing wheat, barley, millet, corn, and, above all, sweet potatoes. The population, however, is very poor and exceptionally stupid. Before the Germans came, there were only fishing-villages where Tsingtau now stands, and the food of the people consisted of fish and sweet potatoes. In point of wealth the population might have been graded by the quantity of sweet potatoes they consumed; the rich eating three meals a day of this tuber, the well-to-do two meals, and the poor only one.

There is no country in the world in which poverty means such absolute destitution as in China; and the necessities of human life,

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under the stress of adversity, come nearer to zero here than the Western mind can conceive. At present, with German money freely spent, plenty prevails; work being easy to find and labor well paid. American flour has usurped the place of the sweet potato as the staple article of food. In German Shantung all have enough to eat, while those in other parts of the province are threatened with a terrible famine. The rains have been deficient recently; the wheat has not been put into the ground; and starvation, in the next few months, will destroy many thousands of the poor. In the territory under foreign control all will be somehow fed. The noblest burden which the white man can take up is to enter the lists in behalf of the miserable millions of Asia in their ceaseless struggle with want. Thus may the Germans in Shantung, as do the English in Egypt, more than justify their rule.

The great defect of Kiaochou as a commercial colony is that there is not much trade there. In China, the large cities grow up and trade flourishes in those localities which are the centres of networks of rivers and canals. This accounts for the prosperity of Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, Hankow, and dozens of other cities of the empire. There is no transportation to compare in cheapness with Chinese canals. Branching off from the rivers they ramify the country, carrying on in their millions of boats a gigantic commerce. The absence of an extended system of inland water-communication has prevented enthusiasm among the German merchants in China as to their colony's future. American experience shows, however, that railways can make a seaport prosperous; and with the energy, the money, and the intelligence which are at the service of Tsingtau, prosperity could be brought to a less favored site.

Public works are being carried on in the new possessions on a most comprehensive plan, and millions of marks are being spent upon them. The colony is the especial pet of Prince Henry, whose influence the Government generously recognizes. Five millions of marks were voted for Kiaochou in 1898, eight millions in 1899, and a larger sum is contemplated for 1900. With this money roads are being graded and paved, a fine system of sewers on a large scale is under way, bridges are being thrown across streams and mountain gullies, harbors improved, channels buoyed, and lighthouses riveted upon dangerous rocks.

One of the most interesting enterprises is the forestry department. A large number of foresters have been engaged by the Gov-

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ernment to restore the vegetation on the yellow and denuded hills. To prevent erosion, thousands of little walls have been built across the mountain sides, and in every pocket and crevice trees and shrubs have been set out. These have been brought from Japan, from Hongkong, and even from Europe. In particular, large quantities of Japanese moss have been grafted on rocks and ledges. The surrounding country, with its encircling mountains, with the green islands and the sparkling water of the bay, is already beautiful, but it is the intention of the Germans to make it even more attractive by means of art.

Besides the money spent by the German Government itself, encouragement has been given to a number of syndicates to take up enterprises in Shantung. The breakwater now under construction at the cost of millions of marks is the work of a syndicate. Another syndicate has contracted to build a railroad from Tsingtau to the coal-field at Wei Hsien, about 100 miles distant, in two years, and thence to Chinanfu, 150 miles further, in two years more. Here the road will connect with the Tientsin-Chinkiang trunk-line, for which an Anglo-German syndicate has a concession.

The Wei Hsien coal-field is supposed to be the richest in Shantung, and the opening of it is relied upon by the Germans to create a naval coaling-station and an industrial and manufacturing centre. At present coal is brought from Japan, and costs about ten dollars gold per ton. It is the lack of inland means of transportation which enables coal brought in sailing-ships and steamers from Japan, Australia, and Wales to compete with China's mines at nearly all the seaports. At the mines of Wei Hsien coal is worth about $1.50 gold, per ton, and there it is largely consumed. With every additional ten miles from the mine, however, the price rises and the consumption diminishes, until, at forty miles distance, the price is eight times as great as at the mouth of the pit, and charcoal locally produced is cheaper. From this point on its use gradually ceases.

Another railroad will run from Tsingtau through the southern part of Shantung, joining the Chinkiang-Tientsin line at Ichoufu, and touching other mineral deposits, the development of which has been leased out to various syndicates. The mining prospects are bright, and the coal and iron and other minerals will suffice to insure the prosperity of the colony. The prospectors of the syndicates have found alluvial gold as well as many reefs of rich auriferous ore. There are valuable deposits of iron, lead, copper, and mica, and, near

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Ichoufu, there is a diamond field of unknown area, but certainly of some value, for it has been resorted to by the Chinese for many decades to secure the points for glass-cutting instruments.

It may seem strange that, in so densely populated a country as China, gold-fields of any importance should have remained undiscovered for so many thousands of years. The explanation is twofold. In the first place superstition with regard to disturbing the dragon supposed to repose beneath the soil has prevented any thorough examination below the surface of the ground; and secondly the Chinese have never been familiar with methods of dealing with refractory ores. Before the coming of foreigners they knew of gold only in its free state; and, until the last few years, the Chinese Government has persistently frustrated mining enterprises.

That Shantung is rich in gold has long been known, and for centuries there has been a constant export from there of metal secured at various localities by crude washing of gravel in the river beds. Chinese miners tell marvellous stories of the richness of the hills, from whose hidden stores the summer torrents wash down annually the minute specks which are the reward of their laborious search. During a recent journey in Shantung, the writer was gravely assured by some alluvial miners that in the gullies of a neighboring mountain a peculiar bird had laid a large nestful of golden eggs which they hoped some day to hit upon. The Chinese believe that foreigners have supernatural powers for the discovery of precious metals; and the great mass of the country people are convinced that foreign prospectors, whom they sometimes notice walking along examining the ground with downcast visage, can see several yards beneath its surface.

The purpose of Germany at Kiaochou is evidently commercial, not military. The port of Tsingtau has been declared a "free port," or one into and out of which merchandise may be shipped duty free. Goods taken across the Chinese border beyond German territory are subject to the duties of the Chinese Government, and to facilitate the collection thereof a Chinese custom-house is located at Tsingtau. The establishment of this custom-house is disliked by the colony, which has a sentimental objection to the exercise of functions of any kind by the Chinese authorities on German territory. To overcome this objection, Sir Robert Hart, the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs, placed a German in charge of the custom-house there, with a staff of Germans exclusively, and authorized the official use of the German language in their transactions. In spite, however, of these

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conciliatory measures, it seems probable that the Chinese will be compelled to move their stations across the border and leave Kiaochou free from even the semblance of their control.

The trade of Tsingtau, at present, except upon German Government account, is not significant, and the duties collected by China are small. The exports of Shantung are ordinarily sent to Tientsin and Shanghai for shipment, or to Chefoo, hitherto the only port open to trade in the province. It is hoped that the railroads will direct this trade to Tsingtau, and German influence will be strongly used to prevent any railroad reaching the sea elsewhere. China herself will probably never be in a position to defeat this policy, and no other country is likely deliberately to thwart Germany in this matter.

In fact, England, the only power that might have wished to do so, has been the first to recognize and confirm Germany's hold, not only on Kiaochou, but on all Shantung. In an official declaration made on April 20, 1898, the British Ambassador at Berlin declared to the German Government that England, in establishing herself at Wei-hai Wei, her newly acquired fortress in Shantung, had no intention of injuring or contesting the interests of Germany in the province of Shantung, or of creating difficulties for her in that province, and that it was especially understood that England would not construct any railroad communication from Wei-hai Wei and the district leased therewith into the interior of the province. German influence would seem to have gone pretty far when the British Government makes such formal recognition of it!

While the ambition of Germany at Kiaochou is chiefly commercial, the military feature has not been neglected. The port is garrisoned by about two thousand German troops, and a German man-of-war is always in the harbor. The heights adjoining the entrance to the bay are fortified by small batteries, but no very formidable guns have as yet been put in position. When coal is made available by rail, and the port becomes, as it is hoped it will, a great coaling-station and a site for docks and naval stores, the German fortifications will no doubt be made to rival those of Russia at Port Arthur and of England at Wei-hai Wei.

The young German soldiers in Shantung have had to contend with much sickness. In spite of the fine climate and of the picturesque location of their quarters, disease has made serious inroads among them, due, it is said, to the digging for the drains and public works. The soil is of disintegrated granite, very similar to that of Hongkong, where the

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mortality was great for several years after the founding of the colony. At Tsingtau, two or three burying-parties a day may be seen at present winding their way across the hills to the cemetery. It is noticeable that the soldiers suffer to a far greater extent than do the civilians; and it is supposed that this is due to carelessness on the part of young recruits, who are heedless of the importance, so great throughout the Far East, of drinking distilled water. The German officers have hit upon the novel theory that disease is carried from place to place by dogs, and in all the Chinese villages these have been relentlessly pursued and shot. To one familiar with the barking hordes that snap at the foreigner's heels in all the towns in other parts of China, the result of this sanitary measure is a welcome one. It is a novel experience to pass through Chinese villages without a vociferous canine welcome and *envoi*.

Besides the troops in barracks in the immediate vicinity of the harbor there are numerous garrisons in other parts of German territory, and in the mountain passes leading across the border. One of the most interesting of these is at the village of Li-tsun, which is about eleven miles distant, and is easily reached by an hour's gallop over fine roads, winding over hills and through picturesque villages each surrounded by its grove of mulberry trees. Foreign control is everywhere visible in the courtesy with which foreigners are treated, in the unaccustomed cleanliness, and in the occasional German word which some village lad, delighted with his newly acquired knowledge, shouts after the wayfarer. The village of Li-tsun is occupied by German troops, and here the officers are engaged in the interesting experiment of drilling Chinese recruits. Since October 1, 1899, they have now enlisted 125 men—100 foot and 25 horse—forming the nucleus of the Kaiser's first Chinese regiment.

The Chinese enter eagerly into this service. They receive eight Mexican dollars per month, with good food, good quarters, and clothing, which is far more than they could hope to obtain in any other employment. At first the promptness and accuracy of military drill are very trying to the Chinese. To be well set up and faultless in appearance, to obey instantly and precisely the orders given to them, are qualities about as un-Chinese as possible. It is a pleasure to see how an awkward coolie can be transformed into an alert, intelligent, and ready soldier, and this in less than two months.

The method employed has been the application of that influence which the Chinese relish least and respond to best, namely, force.

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German military discipline is not light-handed at best; and for the Chinese, who had to lay aside in a moment the shiftless habits bred into their race through centuries, it was a severe ordeal. After the first month, however, the lesson was more or less learned, and the German-Chinese soldier is now a proud and contented man, rejoicing in his proficiency. The officers assert that they can rely on their recruits, when led by Germans, in a contest with their own countrymen; but they have formed the deliberate opinion that a Chinese army, however well drilled and armed, is not to be feared unless led by foreigners.

All experience in China teaches the rapid disintegration of any foreign educational structure when the outside pressure is removed. It is probable that the laboriously built-up fabric of Chinese Christianity itself would lapse in a few decades if missionaries were withdrawn, and would turn into some rank superstition, merging, perhaps, as Confucianism and Taoism have done, into the nondescript cult of Chinese Buddhism.

The Chinese recruits are all carefully selected for physical soundness. They must be under twenty-six years of age, and, as the supply is unlimited, only the best are taken; and there is no reason to fear that on the physical side they will prove bad material. For hard work on simple food and poor lodging the Chinese cannot be surpassed, and their powers of endurance are admitted by all who come in contact with them. The new squad at Li-tsun was marched thirty-four kilometres without any ill effects eight days after enlistment—an experiment which the officer in command frankly admitted would not have been tried in Germany. As cavalry they are not a success, and their grotesque efforts to ride properly are for their instructors an unfailing source of amusement and chagrin.

The good effects of this military training will not be confined to the soldiers themselves. They come from a wide area, and their experience cannot fail to influence their friends and companions. A body of young men like these recruits, taught in foreign methods, given the benefit of association with foreigners trained in the use of arms of precision, acquainted by experience with the advantages of good houses, good food, and good habits, when sent back to spread the new gospel in their native towns and villages must be an educational force. They will certainly help to overcome the popular anti-foreign sentiment, because men who have lived a year in a German barracks will no longer tolerate the preposterous ideas as to

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the practices of foreigners which now prevail. Some of them even may be the providential instruments in the longed-for reconstruction of the Chinese Government itself.

The opinion has been above expressed that Kiaochou will remain German, and that, far from withdrawing, the Germans will extend their influence more and more widely until it covers the whole of Shantung. Similarly, Manchuria is almost certain to pass under the flag of Russia, and parts of Southern China are almost as certain to be annexed to the colonies of France. The prospect is far from reassuring to nations bent on trade, as are the United States and England, not seeking dominion over territory, but an open market. The French frankly use their colonies for their own exclusive benefit, overburdening goods other than French with oppressive taxes. Russia has recently declared that Talienwan, her new harbor in Manchuria, shall be a free port, to which the ships and trade of all nations are cordially invited; but the world has not forgotten her promises about Batoum, in the Baltic, or how they were broken. Germany declares that Kiaochou is to be a free port, and there is no reason to doubt the present sincerity of her declaration, but no one can tell what the future may have in store; and Kiaochou may be closed upon some change in national policy.

Under these circumstances, the effort of the United States to secure formal undertakings from China, and from her prospective despoilers, that all cessions of territory shall be subject to the express stipulation that no discrimination shall be made against American trade therein commends itself as wise and farseeing statesmanship. If this guarantee be forthcoming Americans may look on without alarm at the process of China's disintegration; for every new advance by Russia, Germany, or France would only be the opening of another door for the trade of the United States and for the development and civilization of China herself.

CHARLES DENBY, JR.

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CHINESE CIVILIZATION: THE IDEAL AND THE ACTUAL.

WESTERN students of Chinese life and letters are surprised at the lofty ideals of government, of the family, and of society set forth in the ancient classical literature, which from generation to generation has exerted an ennobling influence upon the thoughts of the people. But they are also surprised that these ideals have been realized to so small an extent in government, in the family, and in society.

Ancient Chinese literature is a witness to the nobility of human nature in its best thoughts and aspirations. The Sages taught that man is made for virtue: "To be benevolent is to be a man." They taught that virtue distinguishes men from animals, and that when men fail to be virtuous they cease to be men. The heart of man tends toward goodness as water tends to flow downward. Water may be forced upward, but that is not its tendency; in like manner men may be driven to evil, but it is not according to their nature. The mountain clothes itself with forests and verdure, but axmen come from the neighboring city and cut down the trees; fresh shoots spring up from the living roots, but the cattle browse them down until the mountain is bald and desolate, and men say it is the nature of the mountain to be bald and desolate. Not so: its condition is the result of violence to its nature. Thus man's nature seeks to clothe itself with virtue, but it is assailed by external evils, till finally the recuperative powers of the heart become paralyzed, and we look upon the evil man and say it is his nature to be evil. Not so; his true nature has been overcome by the evil that is alien to it. "The end of learning is to recover the lost heart," which is the "child-heart" that all men have in common.

Orthodox Confucianists have always laid emphasis upon the inherent goodness of human nature; and because it is "natural" for men to be good they have taught that it is an easy matter to be good. It is only necessary to have a right example set by men in high stations, and the "people" will revolve around them in virtuous conduct as the sun revolves around the earth. The great Emperor Shun, who was the embodiment of all virtue, needed only to sit in his seat

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of state and look south, and lo! all classes of his subjects obeyed spontaneously the law of Heaven. "The virtue of the superior man is like the wind, the virtue of the common people is like the grass [upon the house-top]; when the wind blows the grass bends."

Confucius tersely describes the ideal condition in human relations as realized "when the prince acquits himself as prince, the minister as minister, the father as father, and the son as son;" that is, when men in every rank in society discharge faithfully the duties belonging to their place. The "law of Heaven" is the law of right, the law of duty, and wisdom consists in correctly applying this law in the relations of life. Confucius taught that the end of learning was to develop and make manifest the innate virtue, to renovate the people, and to rest in the highest goodness.

The Emperor, the "Son of Heaven," stands before his people as the representative of Heaven. He must offer the prescribed forms of worship to Heaven and Earth, the great dual powers in nature from which all life springs; he must extend this worship to other leading objects in nature, to his ancestors, to the rulers of preceding dynasties, and thus preserve "harmony" between man and nature, insuring the orderly recurrence of the seasons with the common bounties of life, and exemption from pestilence, famine, and flood. He must judge between his people without partiality. He must instruct them in their ignorance, rebuke and punish them for their sins, protect them against their enemies, and stimulate them to study the teachings and imitate the examples of the Ancient Sages, since their teachings are the embodiment of wisdom and their examples an illustration of virtue.

Ministers must be eyes and ears and hands to the Emperor, must give him right information as to the condition of the people, and right counsel in matters of government. They must have no other will than to carry into execution the "Sacred Will;" they must have no other ambition than to make the reign of their Emperor glorious in the peace and prosperity of the people.

Fathers receive from their ancestors right instruction and example in the regulation of the family, and it is their duty to apply that instruction and imitate that example in the government of the family, so that each member may observe the requirements that have been fixed for his rank in this fundamental social organism. To the son the father is an object of worship while living, and at death must be honored with funereal rites that are the expression of the utmost filial

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piety, while in the years that follow decease the memory of the parent must be kept fresh by appropriate ceremonies of worship.

The Confucian ethical system is founded upon the conception that man is a part of the evolution of nature, and his moral acts are acts that are in harmony with the law of nature, that is, the law of Heaven. There is no recognition of a personal Supreme Being who is above nature and its law, the final source of obligation, and the Lord of human destiny. Confucianism has deified nature and man in the interrelated systems of nature-worship and ancestor-worship, and has thus marred the symmetry of its ethical teachings.

But while we criticise the errors that inhere in these teachings, we must not withhold our appreciation of the high ethical content of the best Confucian thought. The Emperor rules his people, as the representative of Heaven, with justice and benevolence; his officers carry out his will in directing and adjusting the affairs of the people with sympathy and fidelity; the people dwell together in peace and happy fellowship under the protection of beneficent laws; families are bound together by the strong ties of parental love and filial piety. These affections are strengthened and regulated by the exercise of prescribed forms of politeness, which have been so long sanctioned by custom that they are believed to have their origin in one of the cardinal virtues of the heart. These virtues are benevolence, righteousness, observance of etiquette, wisdom, faithfulness.

The Chinese tell of a "Golden Age," far back in the dawn of their national history, when the noblest conceptions of family and social life were realized in the experiences of men. For brief periods, under the rule of benevolent princes, men had a taste of this Edenic order of society, when officers refused bribes and ministered equal justice, when the people strove with one another in deeds of kindness, when bars were not needed upon doors, when lost articles were passed by untouched, and when the practice of virtue was universal.

These conceptions of an ideal society have found expression in the ancient classical literature of China, have been discussed by Chinese scholars for a hundred generations, and are as familiar to the thoughts of the people of the present generation as are the conceptions of a Christian society in nominally Christian lands. The Chinese people have educated consciences. It is a mistake to think of them as having blurred and obscure notions of right and wrong. The Confucian system of education, which is the basis of Chinese civilization, largely consists of instruction in questions of political and social economy;

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these questions being always considered in their relations to nature and to ancestors. Wrong is not only committed against living men; it is committed against the orderly course of nature, and especially against ancestors, who are honored by the virtues and dishonored by the vices of posterity.

In China there is a failure in duty known as "public sin," which means the sin of an official in allowing calamities such as floods or droughts or famines to visit the people. An officer temporarily deprived of his rank, until he should repair the breach in the bank of the river caused by excessive rains, said to the writer: "It is difficult to escape public sin." Li Hung Chang, viceroy of the province, was deprived of his yellow jacket for the same "sin." An official had just been appointed to take charge of repairs on the Yellow River, when a more serious breach occurred. In reporting the matter he humbly acknowledged his sin, and begged the Emperor to fix his punishment. The Emperor forgave him for the reason that he had just entered upon his office, and so was not fully responsible for what had taken place.

The "Great Shun" said in ancient times: "The man-heart is turbulent, the law-heart is weak." This truth as to the antagonism between the passion nature and the moral nature in man has received faint recognition from the teachers of China. They have recognized and stated with clearness man's capacity for virtue, and have painted an attractive picture of an ideal society; but they have neglected to consider the nature of those forces operating in human nature to defeat the realization of its ideals. They have spread out their best conceptions of the aspirations of the law-heart, and have taught that they were not difficult of realization; but they have neglected to consider the confusion wrought in those aspirations by the turbulence of the man-heart.

Chinese history has not been without examples of upright rulers and faithful citizens, of "compassionate fathers and filial sons;" but the ideal state, the ideal family, have been, for the most part, themes to be talked about, to be written of in elegant essays, but not to be striven after, or experienced. The "Son of Heaven" has usually proved to be a son of earth in his bondage to its passions and allurements. Ministers have been eyes and ears and hands, not for the service of their princes, but for the service of their own ignoble appetites and ambitions. Society has not been ruled by the law of benevolence, but by the law of selfishness. The operation of this

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law is also seen in family life. Parents regard children as given to them to command; children in turn have few rights in the presence of their parents. There is a popular saying that "parents are the family gods," and too often they rule in their households with the authority of gods. The disciple of Confucius learned through observing the relations between the sage and his son that "the superior man is not intimate with his children." In general the hard and selfish rule of parents begets a formal and selfish service in children. Falsehood and duplicity take the place of truthfulness and candor, and unloving authority is met by unloving obedience.

To the superficial observer of Chinese life there seems to be a wide divergence in the moral character of different classes of the people. Official life is seen to be a vast sink of corruption, while there is a good measure of business integrity and mutual trust in general intercourse. To understand Chinese character we must search for the motive-forces operating in the lives of the people. It is related of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, who was fond of going out incognito to study the condition of the people, that his attention was directed by a companion to the multitudes passing out of the city gate. The Emperor replied: "I see but two men passing out of the city gate. Their names are Ming and Li" (Fame and Wealth). All of this activity, the Emperor judged, was for one of two ends, to win fame, or to secure wealth. The Chinese people when they feel at liberty to speak with frankness are severe critics of their own social condition. They do not declare that truthfulness and integrity are national virtues, but that untruthfulness and want of integrity are national vices. In these things the Sages failed to realize in practice their own exalted teachings, and their defects have been palliated by their disciples. Mencius taught that men should not "bend an inch" in order to "straighten ten feet," lest the evil principle being introduced they should bend ten feet to straighten an inch; but in the incidents of his life there are many cases of his bending for no better reason than that he was under the power of the spirit of the times. There is a saying often heard from the lips of the Chinese: "Falsehood is the wisdom of the superior man." The man of culture and virtue knows when and how to prevaricate. He is no bungler in this art!

There is much business honesty in China, but the root of that honesty is not fidelity to fundamental convictions of right; it is rather a strong sense of business responsibility, a realization that "honesty

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is the best policy," and that failure to meet obligations will bring exposure and loss. The larger the transactions the greater the responsibilities, and the stronger and more numerous the checks against dishonest dealing. Thus, as business increases in importance the quality of business integrity improves, but the humble huckster who has a "moving price" for his wares, according to the shrewdness or gullibility of his customers, is at heart as honest a man as the prosperous merchant who sells at "one price" to all customers. The vast volume of trade in China does not rest for security upon mutual confidence in character, but upon mutual dependence. Business is safe-guarded by family responsibility, by official supervision, by trade-guilds, by individual security, and above all by a desire for a good reputation to insure permanent prosperity. In official life the opportunities for acquisition and the methods of achieving success are wholly different; and so officers of the same essential character as the merchant-class seem to be a less honorable and trustworthy type of men, as judged by their lives. Wealthy merchants often purchase official positions, and are most to be feared as "administrators of justice."

In spite of the teachings concerning the dignity and rights of men conferred in common by "compassionate Heaven," the strong in China have ever oppressed the weak, the cunning have circumvented the simple, the few have "eaten the sweet," and the many have "eaten the bitter." The ox of the rich man in times of general distress chews a full cud, while the family of the poor neighbor starves. Families sell the last article of furniture to buy the last cup of rice, and then wander forth to perish in their search for food. If the distress is widespread some small governmental provision is made; but too often these streams of "imperial grace" are lost in their courses as they flow out to the people through the channels of corrupt officials. These illustrations are taken from extreme conditions, but it is in such conditions that character is put to its surest test. Chinese civilization is remarkable in its conceptions and remarkable in its partial achievements; but it has not "renovated the people," and they have not found it as easy as the flowing of water to follow the precepts of the Sages.

We have drawn a contrast between Chinese civilization in its ideals and in its results. The radical cause of failure to realize these ideals has been pointed out—the weakness of human nature, the conflict in each individual between what Mencius calls "the great man"

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and "the small man," the noble and ignoble affections and aspirations. Yet, in the evolution of this civilization other causes reveal themselves, and help us to understand its strength and weakness, its persistence and immobility.

The first cause of arrested development that may be mentioned is the wide separation of China from other great centres of civilization, which deprived Chinese thought in its formative period of the inspiration that would have been derived from the inflow of fresh ideas. Buddhism entered China at the beginning of the Christian era. Mohammedanism and Nestorianism followed in the seventh and eighth centuries; but this was long after the formative period of Chinese social life.

Two thousand years before Christ the interrelated systems of Nature-worship, Hero-worship, and Ancestor-worship had already taken on definite form, and were observed with a fixed and elaborate ritual. These systems have been transmitted to the present time with but slight modifications in significance or in their ceremonial observance. The Five Great Relations in the Heaven-ordained constitution of society were already recognized and defined as those of "prince and minister, father and son, husband and wife, brother and brother, friend and friend." The family had assumed its essential type, with the authority of the lord of the household limiting the freedom and restraining the impulse of its members. Paternalism, taking its type from the family, had stamped itself upon the institutions of government; and the nation was in theory one great company of brethren, under the care of Heaven and Earth, with the Prince, the "Son of Heaven," as their representative, to carry out the "will of Heaven."

There is a unity and consistency in the Confucian system of ethics and religion that stamp it as indigenous. Among the writers who preceded Confucius by many centuries there was no acknowledgment of indebtedness to sources outside of themselves. We read in the classics that those who first apprehended truth communicated it to others, who accepted it, as they felt it to be in harmony with their natures. Confucius declared himself to be "a transmitter and not a producer." He believed himself to be a reformer sent of Heaven to better the condition of men, but not by proclaiming new ideas and setting up new institutions. His watch-cry was, "Back to the Ancients," to the teachings and customs of the founders of the nation, when even fierce barbarians, who had not been conquered in war, had been "melted" and transformed by music and dancing and

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by the practice among them of the ceremonies of propriety. Though for nearly two thousand years Buddhism has exerted a considerable influence in China in ministering to the religious cravings of the people, it has wrought no essential modifications in the teachings of Confucius. China, like one huge family, separated from external influences, has been dominated in thought by the teachings of the Ancients, which have been gathered into the "Sacred Books," containing within them the sum of human knowledge.

The supreme honor paid to the Sages, literally "holy men," both in their persons and in their teachings, is a second cause of arrested development in Chinese civilization. The Confucian conception of a sage is not of a man inspired by a living personal spirit, but rather of a man whose nature is the perfect embodiment of the "law of Heaven." This law is self-directed. It is not the outgoing of thought or will from a personal Heaven, but radiates from Heaven as light from the sun. It is the source of transformations in nature, of growth and decay; it acts necessarily and spontaneously, in harmony with its nature, which is that of order. This "law of Heaven" not only operates to produce order in physical nature, but is also the regulating principle in the nature of man. When man's nature is under the perfect dominion of law, it is in harmony with Heaven and Earth in sustaining and nourishing the varied orders of being. The Sage is said to be the embodiment of Heaven and Earth; his virtues commingle with the virtues of Heaven and Earth. According to the traditional teaching Sages have perfect knowledge from birth; without the need of study they apprehend truth in open vision. When Confucius said of himself, "My knowledge is not from birth, but by acquisition," his disciples explained that this statement must be placed to the credit of the master's modesty and of his desire to make himself a pattern for others, who, being without the perfect natural endowments of the Sage, must study in order to know.

Thus the Chinese regard their Sages as possessed of perfect knowledge and virtue. Their teachings and example are accepted as infallible. They are incarnations, not of celestial beings, but of the "law of Heaven," and are the heaven-sent instructors and guides of men. To follow them is to walk in the path of virtue, to neglect their teachings is to be lost in a wilderness of error. The Sages gave clear and often beautiful expression to many of the first truths of human knowledge, and pointed out the duties correlated with these truths, until at length there grew up an elaborate and complicated

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social ideal, a conception of a perfect family, a perfect state, and of the "law of Heaven" operating through all, to fix the rank and determine the duties of the various members.

The result has been to create out of the teachings of the Sages a vast social mould, into which the Chinese mind has been continuously poured, to take on the same unvarying type of thought. If men under the inspiration of Christian civilization, with clearer visions of truth, with greater freedom in the interchange of thought, with the new motives to progress begotten of modern discoveries, have shown a strong disposition to regard knowledge already attained as ultimate and complete, it should not be difficult for us to understand the immobility of the Chinese mind, fashioned as it has been by the thoughts of the past, which have been accepted as the final expression of truth. If Confucius, standing near the end of the long line of Sages, believed that his mission was only to emphasize the teachings of the ancients, how could common men presume to think outside of the circle of the teachings of the Sages?

The system of Confucian education is a third cause that has operated to give to Chinese civilization a fixed and rigid form. Learning has always been honored in China. It has been the one open door through which all classes of the people could attain to honor and to official rank. But learning has been confined within narrow lines. The teachings of the Sages have been gathered into the "Thirteen Classics," or, more exactly, the "Thirteen Scriptures." These Scriptures are literally the road along which men must pass who are inquiring after truth. This classical literature, including commentaries from the hands of later scholars, contains the sum of Chinese learning.

For the first few years of their school-life boys are set to the work of memorizing these classics, which they accomplish with marvellous success, but with little thought of the meaning of the endless chain of words.

When several books have thus been carved upon the memory, the work of explanation begins, first from the lips of the teacher, and then from the students. There are no easy steps in this pathway of learning. The boy of twelve is taught to explain how the prince should rule his kingdom; with what ceremonies he should bury his father, and worship at the tombs of his ancestors; how officials should serve their princes; how parents should regulate the family; how children should obey both the living and the dead. When some progress has

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been made in mastering the meaning of the classics, the student must begin to match phrases, and to compose rhymes under prescribed regulations. The most serious and the crowning work of the student is to acquire the literary style of composition, which he is to use in preparing essays on themes taken from the classics. These essays, in their beauty of penmanship, elegance of expression, correctness of thought, aptness of quotation, are accepted in the competitive examinations as tests of scholarship, and if successful the writers are rewarded with honors, and finally with official preferment. No other training is thought necessary to qualify the aspirant for the highest civil office. His "stomach" is full of the wisdom of the Sages. He has learned from them the duties that pertain to the "five great relations," and he has only to apply this wisdom to special conditions as they arise.

It is said that when the first Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty—two centuries before Christ—attempted to destroy the classical literature, the scholars restored it from their memories. Certainly the scholars of any city in China could now rewrite the leading classics from memory. Not only are Confucian scholars saturated with these writings, but the more striking sayings have passed down into the common speech, so that those who are "blind with their eyes open" (the uneducated) are constantly quoting them without thought of their origin. The common speech is loaded with proverbs that reflect the thoughts of the Ancients. Scholars competing for honors must present in their essays the traditional interpretation of the doctrines of the Sages. If they should presume to set forth views of their own, not in harmony with this interpretation, they would be stripped by the public examiner of honors already conferred, and would be excluded from competing for literary distinction. Thus the educational system of China has not served to lead men's minds into new lines of thought or into fresh fields of investigation; rather has it served to confine the thoughts of each generation of scholars within the limits of "ancient instruction," and to stifle independent thought and inquiry.

Again, the system of Ancestor-worship has helped to stamp the thoughts and customs of China in its formative period upon the life of the people in subsequent ages. This peculiar cult had assumed definite form twenty-two centuries before Christ, and the ceremonies of worship then existing have undergone but little modification down to the present time. The ancient classical writings imply, and in

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passages definitely teach, the conscious existence of the spirits of the departed, and their presence with the living, especially when the ceremonies of worship are observed. That Confucius had no clear notion of a conscious life beyond the present is made evident by his answer to his disciple's inquiry concerning death, "Not knowing life, how can I know death?" In the centuries subsequent to Confucius, philosophical writers, in their explanation of the evolution of nature—without conscious departure from the teachings of the Ancients—rejected the thought of continued conscious existence after death, but still laid stress upon the duty of worship.

The setting up of tablets in the household to symbolize the departed as present with the living is a custom relatively modern in its origin, though the offering of food and wine, with prostrations at the family tombs, was in practice at the dawn of Chinese history. The tablet is set up as a part of the funeral ceremony. Upon it is written the name and age of the deceased, and the additional characters, "Divine Lord, Divine Seat." The spirit of the departed is the Divine Lord, and the tablet its abiding-place. From this time the tablet is worshipped by the household as a symbol of the departed ancestor, and it takes precedence over the living heads of the family in honors conferred at weddings, funerals, the New Year, and important fêtes.

The superstition of *Feng shui*, pointing out the conjunction of events and conditions of life that involve men in good or evil fortune, has woven itself within the texture of the system of Ancestor-worship, and has added to its power over the minds of the people. The good fortune of a family is vitally related to the proper location of the family tomb, and to propitious external conditions. A wealthy Chinaman in extreme distress of mind once called upon the writer, prostrating himself to offer his supplications, explaining that the survey for the road of the "fire-wheel-cart" passed near the tombs of his ancestors, and that the rumbling and screaming of the carts would disturb their slumbers, and so bring misfortune upon the living. Fortunately his mind was set at ease, as the line of the road was changed before construction!

The first care of an officer when he receives promotion is to set in order the tombs of his family, often at much expense for buildings and mounds and shrines, for groves and walls and walks. When an officer has received high distinction through the grace of the Emperor, posthumous honors are bestowed upon his ancestors, since

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their virtues were made lustrous in the life of their descendant. This system has placed the power of government, to a large degree, in the hands of the aged. Only the lower official ranks are usually reached in middle life, and it is not until the best powers of body and mind have begun to weaken that the highest places of honor and responsibility are secured. The confusion in government can often be traced to the palsied hands that are guiding its affairs.

Thus, through a system that has made gods of departed men, and has placed them over households as guardians of the living, generations of men, as they have wakened to consciousness, have found themselves in bondage to the past. Ancient customs must be followed without question, and all innovations must be suppressed as betraying a spirit of apostasy from the standards that have been unalterably fixed.

The foregoing presentation of the influences operating upon Chinese life will help to an understanding of the rigidity of the ruling thoughts of the people, and of the unchanging character of their institutions. China was secluded from the outside world; the Sages were the oracles of Heaven; their teachings were the final statement of truth. Confucian learning perpetuated and strengthened this system of thought; and Ancestor-worship added its power to fasten the system upon the religious convictions of men, until their capacity for progress was weakened, and the very thought of progress was well-nigh lost.

The hope of China is not in itself. The realization of its best thought must come from without. Christian civilization will bring to China a truer conception of the nature of man, a better understanding of his relations and duties, of his dignity and destiny. It will turn the faces of the people from the past toward the future, and will enrich their lives with a quality of love and fellowship and hope that Confucian civilization has been powerless to bestow.

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IS CRIME INCREASING?

THE belief that crime in the United States is on the increase is widespread and commonly accepted. We find it difficult to reconcile such a belief with our optimism as to our national progress. Are we to believe, as the preacher and the moralist sometimes aver, that our material growth has been at the expense of our moral standards; that in the race for wealth our people have been losing that wholesome respect for law and righteousness which formerly prevailed? If we admit the fact, can we reject the conclusion? We may deny that there is a dark spot on the picture of our national progress, or we may pass it over in silence; but a matter involving such momentous consequences for our social life should be faced and not shirked.

There are few who stop to question it. As to the accuracy of the fact alleged, when writers of unquestioned standing state the increase of crime as a fact universally recognized the ordinary reader feels himself relieved from the duty of further examination. Instinctively he seeks confirmation of such an increase of crime in his own experience. He notes the daily record of crime which appears in the newspapers, and if he reflects upon the matter at all he reaches the mournful conclusion that we are going to the dogs. It may be pointed out to him that crime, and indeed everything else, secures a far wider publicity to-day than ever before; but even granting this he is led to believe that a spirit of lawlessness prevails in our country which is in unhappy contrast with the law-abiding habits of an earlier day.

The American people have not accepted the conclusion that crime is increasing in the United States without the weightiest evidence in behalf of such a proposition. A review of the writers who have touched upon this subject seems to place the fact beyond question. In his standard work on "Recent Economic Changes" (p. 345) the late David A. Wells said:

> "In the United States, while crime has diminished in a few States, for the whole country it has within recent years greatly increased. In 1850 the proportion of prison inmates was reported as one to every 3,448 of the entire population of the country; but in 1880 this proportion had risen to one for

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every 855. These results are believed to be attributable, in the Northern States, mainly to the great foreign immigration, and, in the Southern, to the emancipation of the negroes."

Mr. Henry M. Boies, in his work on "Prisoners and Paupers," is still more emphatic. Commenting upon the returns of the census of 1890, he says:

"Some of the disclosures made are, however, shocking if not appalling in the highest degree to our confidence in the future. One of these is the abnormal and disproportionate increase in the criminal class in society. That increase is from 1 in 3,500 of our population in 1850 to 1 in 786.5 in 1890, or of 445 per cent; while the population has increased but 170 per cent in the same period. In the last decade, with an increase of 2.45 per cent in population, the number of inmates of our penitentiaries, jails and reformatories has increased 45.2 per cent, or nearly twice faster than the general population. * * * * * Such a disproportion cannot continue indefinitely without a relapse into barbarism and social ruin. It is more startling because such a state of things does not exist in other civilized nations, as public records show."[1]

English writers also echo the same opinions. Mr. William Douglas Morrison, in his work on "Crime," speaks of the increase of crime in the United States as a fact universally recognized and attested by such high authorities as David A. Wells and Dr. F. H. Wines. Mr. William Tallack quotes General Brinkerhoff of Ohio as being able to show in 1885 that the "tide of crime in the United States was rising with alarming rapidity."[2] The assertion here quoted was supported by the figures already given, which need not be repeated.

In a contribution to the "North American Review" for December, 1897, Professor Lombroso, the distinguished Italian criminologist, attempted to answer the question, "Why has homicide increased in the United States?" He claims that while in other countries such crime is diminishing, in the United States the very reverse is the case. In 1880 there were, he tells us, 4,600 arrests for homicide in the United States, while in 1890 such arrests numbered 7,500. Not only is the ratio of these figures to the population far higher than in the countries of Western Europe, but it is plainly increasing at an extraordinary rate, which can only be explained by peculiar conditions in the United States, which he attempts to analyze.

This testimony appears unimpeachable, yet the high character of the witnesses need not deter us from an impartial examination of their assertions. It will be seen at a glance that one and all rest the case

[1] "Prisoners and Paupers," New York, 1893, p. 1.
[2] "Penological and Preventive Principles," p. 140.

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upon the figures of the United States census, which are here reproduced in full:

CENSUS.	PRISONERS.	PRISONERS PER 100,000 OF POPULATION.
1850	6,737	29
1860	19,086	61
1870	32,901	85
1880	58,609	117
1890	82,329	132

Repeated year after year, and printed together in the official census reports, these figures are naturally accepted as strictly comparable. The contrast of the extreme years 1850 and 1890 shows an increase in the number of prisoners which goes far to justify the uncomfortable conclusions of the writers quoted. But are the figures to be relied upon? Dr. F. H. Wines, who compiled these statistics in 1880 and 1890, cautions us in his report of the latter year to be chary in our comparisons. He says:[1]

> "The increase in the number of prisoners during the last forty years has been more apparent than real, owing to the very imperfect enumeration of the prison population prior to 1880. Whatever it has been, it is not what it might be supposed to be, if we had no other means of judging it than by the figures contained in the census volumes. The comparison between the number of prisoners in 1880 and in 1890 is not open to this criticism, since the enumeration was made after the same method at both the dates named."

The differences in methods here noted were not mere technical details in the gathering of statistics, of interest only to the specialist striving after scrupulous accuracy in his statements, but facts of importance vital to the present inquiry. In addition to the census figures, other evidence of an increase in crime from 1850 to 1880 may be in existence; but if so, it is not adduced by the writers who have sought to demonstrate the fact. Their sole reliance is upon the census figures, and with the latter their whole proof stands or falls.

Before 1880 the figures printed in the census volumes were gathered by loose and careless methods. Inquiries were made of State and local officials as to the whole number of prisoners in given districts. In official documents relating to the enumerations of 1850 and 1860, I have searched in vain for any reference to the figures. No explanation is vouchsafed as to how they were gathered or what they mean. In 1870, however, I find that the question as to prisoners did not refer to the inmates of work-houses or houses of correction, but there is

[1] Eleventh Census, "Crime, Pauperism, and Benevolence," Vol. I., p. 126.

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no explanation of the omission. In short, this part of the census work was very carelessly carried out. This is illustrated by an incident which occurred in taking the census of 1870, which is related by a person thoroughly conversant with the facts. A census enumerator rushed into the office of one of our State Boards of Charities and Corrections to inquire how many prisoners there were in the State. On being informed that the office did not have the exact information, he replied that there was nothing left for him to do but to guess the number; and the figure which he evolved from his inner consciousness became the record of the prisoners of the State. The case may be extreme, but the methods employed permitted such extreme cases.

All statistical authorities look with the greatest distrust on totals gained by summary processes. A change in the direction of accuracy was made in the year 1880, when an individual record was prepared for every prisoner in the United States. The aggregates were no longer obtained by summary processes, but by a patient compilation from single records. The same course, with even greater fulness of detail, was pursued in 1890. By the admission of the census authorities, which we have seen is well founded, our reliable information as to the number of prisoners is confined to these two years. Comparisons with earlier years must be abandoned, and with them all attempts at the numerical measurement of an increase of crime fall to pieces.

That there may have been an increase of crime in the United States in the last hundred or in the last fifty years is neither affirmed nor denied. It is simply asserted that there is no valid documentary evidence of the crime movement for these periods, and in the absence of precise records statistical inquiry is precluded. Such a comparison of the crime of to-day with that of fifty or a hundred years ago might be extremely instructive, but it is not the only inquiry which the alleged increase of crime suggests. We have been told that crime is now increasing, and that such an increase appears to be an inherent tendency of the progress of our civilization in the United States. It is this assertion which gives the topic present interest, and in this aspect the record of the immediate past is more significant than that of remoter periods. Within the past quarter century the materials are not lacking for a judgment of the question.

For more recent years, the testimony of the United States census, that in 1880 there were 117 prisoners for every 100,000 inhabitants, while ten years later the number had increased to 132, points toward some increase in crime. The inference implies, it is true, that an in-

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crease in the number of prisoners is a trustworthy indication of an increase in crime, and all the authorities quoted have accepted this implication without hesitation or reserve.

We certainly have a sufficiently clear idea of what we intend by the phrase "the quantity of crime" with its "increase or diminution." Obviously, the quantity of crime is the whole number of punishable offences which occur within a given period, such as a year. We would measure such quantities in two different places, or at two different periods, by ratios to the respective populations. Yet we must be aware that in any strict sense the quantity of crime never has been and never can be recorded, since many offences occur which escape the knowledge of the authorities. While we are wont to speak of the quantity of crime, it is in reality the amount of recorded crime which our statistics reveal; and the question arises: What records are best adapted to indicate changes in the quantity of crime? These records vary considerably. We find figures based upon the number of arrests, others giving the number of sentences imposed, while in the United States we appeal most frequently to the number of prisoners. None of these facts is in a strict sense a measure of crime. Taken together they are, at the most, indications of its volume.

Now, if the number of prisoners increases, it is natural to ascribe such growth to a larger number of offences committed. This reasoning appears so obvious that it may seem puerile to question it; yet a brief examination will show no necessary connection between the premises and the conclusion.

The publication of the State census of 1895 revealed the fact that the inmates of penal establishments in Massachusetts had increased more rapidly since 1885 than the population, to the alarm of some good citizens of that commonwealth.[1] A study of the reports of the Prison Commissioners of the State showed the writer that this increase was not the growth of ten years, but that it had taken place in the latter part of the year 1885, after the census had been taken. On June 30, 1885, all the prisons of the State confined 4,346 persons, while at the close of September of the same year their inmates numbered 5,344. Nor was this change due to the fact that in September the tramps and petty criminals had gone into winter quarters; for in September of the previous year the prisons had only 4,388 inmates. Here seemed to be the evidence of a most extraordinary increase in

[1] "Worcester Evening Telegraph," September 3, 1899.

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crime in the brief space of three months. Fewer crimes were punished, yet the prisoners increased nearly one-fourth in number! Yet for the whole year, ending September 30, 1885, there were 26,651 persons committed to prison, against 26,739 in the preceding year.

Anomalous as the situation appears, it is easily explained. In July, 1885, a law was passed in Massachusetts which doubled the punishment for drunkenness. Term sentences were henceforth to be twice their former length, while the offenders who were sent to jail in default of paying fines also remained in confinement twice as long as before the passage of the act. The procession of drunkards through the Massachusetts jails continued as before, but the new law checked the rapidity of the march and crowded these prisoners together before they emerged from the portals of their prisons. The ranks were even thinner in 1885 than before; for in the year ending September 30, 1884, the contingent was 19,564 persons, and in the following year, 18,701. At the end of the first year we find 1,157 still in confinement, and at the end of the second year, 1,765. It is clearly a change in the punishments and not a change in the number of offences which the figures record. Had the law been to the contrary effect the number of prisoners would have diminished.

This illustration shows more clearly than would an argument that the number of prisoners depends upon the length of sentences as well as upon the number of offences. And here we find an explanation of Professor Lombroso's highly colored view of homicide in the United States. His distinguished learning did not save him from a simple mistake in reading the figures. When he spoke of arrests for homicide he should have said, "Prisoners charged with homicide either sentenced or awaiting trial." There were, indeed, 7,386 such persons in the prisons of the United States in 1890; but in a great majority of cases their crimes were committed long before the census year, and comparatively few represented the crimes of that year. Had the author really known the number of offences for the single year he would not have found homicide to be so much more frequent in the United States than in western Europe.

The number cannot be definitely known, but may be approximately estimated. In the year 1890 the federal census recorded eighty-six homicides among the prisoners of Massachusetts, while from State documents we learn that in the year ending September 30, 1890, the number of persons committed for homicide was twelve. The crimes punished in the year numbered, therefore, about one-

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seventh of the prisoners confined for the crime. If this proportion holds good for the United States at large, our 7,386 homicides confined in 1890 represent about 1,053 crimes punished in the census year. The ratio to the population is not quite two in 100,000 inhabitants, while both in Germany and in England, which, by the testimony of the author, have the least homicides, the figures which he quotes are five arrests in every 100,000. Condemnations and arrests are not synonymous, but to reach the proportions quoted for Germany and England we could assume as many as 2,500 arrests. So much for the greater frequency of homicide in the United States. The proposition that it has greatly increased rests upon the same misapprehension of the figures cited; for it need not be demonstrated that, with the gradual substitution of term and life sentences for the death penalty, the number of prisoners would of necessity increase faster than the population.

Our illustrations suffice to show how misleading it may be to accept the number of prisoners as an indication of the quantity of crime. If it be used at all, it must be with infinite caution, and with a precise knowledge of changes—both in the laws themselves and in the vigor of their enforcement—which may have intervened between the years compared. In comparing different communities by the same test the sources of error in interpretation become almost innumerable. Few can pretend to that minute knowledge of all the conditions involved which is necessary to extract any definite information from so complex a resultant as the number of prisoners, and it is the part of wisdom to abandon it entirely. Mr. William Douglas Morrison has well said: "All competent statisticians are agreed that the movement of crime in a community cannot be determined by a reference to the movement of the prison population, or in other words by an appeal to prison statistics."[1]

Truly the argument for an increase of crime rests upon slender foundations. Both its premises and its reasoning are dubious, and the result of our examination is in effect the Scotch verdict, "Not proven." But such verdicts are proverbially unsatisfactory; and when the issue is of great importance purely destructive criticism is but a mocking consolation. If we are to reach any valid conclusions, we must build anew upon a more stable foundation. Our criticism has pointed out where we may look for this. We must seek records

[1] Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, March, 1897.

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which, for each year compared, give an indication of the crime committed in that year, and in that year only. The census gives us no aid, nor is there any other compilation of facts which relates to the entire nation; but in the public documents of some of the States there are records which answer our purpose. These States are few in number, and are all in the northern and eastern sections of the country. The records available picture faithfully some aspects of the crime movement in these communities, and in the absence of direct proof to the contrary we may fairly conclude that in States adjacent to them, having similar social and industrial conditions, the same tendencies are at work.

Our inquiry must be two-fold: first, as to the facts; and, second, as to their significance. It may seem idle to inquire whether an increase of crime, if such there be, is synonymous with a weakening of the moral character and tone of the community. Yet such is the inquiry we propose. For after all, what is crime? It may be doubted whether the word means the same thing to the statistician and to the moralist. We venture to believe that the public makes little discrimination—that, for it, the word crime calls up a series of pictures of offences against the law which involve a high degree of moral delinquency.

But pictures, however vivid, do not constitute a definition. Though the law has attempted to make distinctions between felonies and misdemeanors, the dividing line between the two is so vague and indefinite that statistical records have rarely been able to take cognizance of the distinctions. Whenever the statistician speaks of crime he includes all classes of punishable offences. Those who use the statistics of crime frequently overlook this important fact, and often ascribe to the figures an ethical significance which they do not contain. No one would class violations of bicycle ordinances or throwing waste paper in the street in the same moral category with murder and arson. Yet as such widely divergent offences are punishable they are all included in the aggregate of crime. We must, therefore, know what classes of offences have multiplied in number before we can estimate the moral significance of the changes which may have occurred. We must inquire into the movement of particular classes of crime after discussing that of crime in general.

In Massachusetts we have since 1879 in the reports of the Prison Commissioners a record of all persons committed to all prisons of the State in each year ending September 30. Starting with 16,501

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persons committed in 1879, the figure increased slowly until 1882, when, with a bound, it reached 22,865. This was succeeded by a period of gradual increase, until in 1889 the maximum figure of 34,098 was attained. Since that date the figures have never been so high, and in the year 1892 even fell to the low point of 17,861. If the figures for the later years range somewhat higher as a rule than at the beginning of the record, it must be remembered that the population was also increasing. Calculating the number of commitments for each 100,000 of the population, I find it, in 1879, to be 939, and, in 1882, 1,238. Increasing somewhat less rapidly than the absolute figures the ratio reached 1,564 in the year 1889; but since then there has been no year in which it was as large as between 1882 and 1889. These figures fail to show a progressive increase in crime in Massachusetts, though a portion of the period under review witnessed a growth.[1]

In Pennsylvania the records of the State Board of Charities and Corrections tell us the number of persons committed annually to jail by magistrates. Some are held for trial, some merely as witnesses, but the greater number are sentenced to terms of imprisonment under the summary jurisdiction of magistrates. While all may not be offenders against the law, it is probable that the proportion of those who were eventually released without punishment did not vary from year to year. Again, the number of persons involved increased from 47,161 in 1875 to 66,419 in 1895, but this increase was less than that of the population. The number of such commitments in 100,000 inhabitants was 1,209 in 1875, and 1,156 twenty years later, while for the intervening years the figures exhibit great constancy and regularity.[2]

The State of Michigan also offers some interesting testimony as to the total number of persons committed to the jails of the State. While the penitentiaries are not included, it is explained that the inmates

[1] The number of commitments per 100,000 population in Massachusetts have been

1879....939	1884....1,400	1889....1,564	1894....1,073
1880....957	1885....1,372	1890....1,487	1895....1,148
1881....941	1886....1,272	1891....1,213	1896....1,135
1882...1,238	1887....1,302	1892.... 762	1897....1,204
1883...1,284	1888....1,442	1893.... 800	1898... 1,119

[2] Prisoners committed in Pennsylvania per 100,000 inhabitants.

1875.....1,209	1890.....1,001
1880.....1,028	1895.....1,156
1885.....1,150	

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of such institutions pass a preliminary stage in jail before trial, so that they are comprised in the jail figures. In the year ending September 30, 1875, the number of persons charged with crime was 6,833, and in 1897 it was 17,400; but in comparison with the population the increase was by no means so marked. In the former year the ratio of persons charged with crime to 100,000 population was 502, and in the latter year 739. This higher level was not obtained by a gradual progression, but by an irregular movement, in which the tendency toward larger ratios was often interrupted.

A diligent search among the records of the States has discovered no other figures from which an indication of the crime movement could be found. So far as it goes the evidence is that in Massachusetts offences gained on the population up to 1889, and have since failed to keep pace with it; that in Pennsylvania the progress of population and crime has been uniform; while in Michigan offences have outstripped the population in growth. The testimony is not sufficient to establish a general rule for the northern and eastern parts of the country, but the facts stated assuredly warrant us in affirming that if there has been an increase in crime it has been inconsiderable. As the inquiry proceeds the lurid picture of our progressive deterioration becomes almost colorless.

We cannot say with Lombroso that crimes of violence have increased. On the contrary, all the indications are that, whatever may be the movement of crime in general, graver offences are relatively less frequent than formerly. Of all the crimes in the Penal Code those of violence against the person are justly regarded as the most serious. It is certainly gratifying to observe that in Massachusetts such crimes are on the decrease.[1] In 1880 there were 94 such crimes punished for every 100,000 inhabitants, and in 1898 only 69. The records of the other States furnish similar testimony. In Ohio, in 1885, the prosecutions for crimes against the person numbered 54 for every 100,000 inhabitants, while in 1890 and 1895 the figures were respectively 51 and 46.[2] In Michigan we find a division of offences into "high crimes and minor offences." Even in that State,

[1] In Massachusetts the figures for a number of years per 100,000 are:

1880.....94	1896.....76
1885.....97	1897.....73
1890.....82	1898.....69
1895.....77	

[2] Computed from Judicial Statistics in the Annual Reports of the Secretaries of State.

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while the total number of offences increased, we find that "high crimes" were recorded in the ratio of 111 to every 100,000 inhabitants in 1875, and in the ratio of 91 in 1897.[1]

By the concurrent testimony of all the figures serious crime is not increasing. Such an increase of crime as has been shown for a portion of the period covered in Massachusetts, and for the whole period in Michigan, is due to the multiplication of minor offences. Is this increase morally significant? Does it mean, as some have said, an increase of petty lawlessness, not alarming for the moment, but full of danger for the future?

A moment's consideration of the character of petty crime will dispel any anxious forebodings for the future. Again the State of Massachusetts, with its admirably detailed reports, comes to our aid. In its numerical importance the chief offence against the laws of Massachusetts is drunkenness, and this exerts a powerful influence upon the aggregate number of offences. In 1880, the persons punished for drunkenness numbered 615 in every 100,000. In 1882 the number rose to 908. For a series of years it remained very high, touching 1,187 in 1889. But in 1891 it fell off to 864, and in the following year reached the minimum figure of 368. Since then it has risen somewhat, and in the year 1898 attained the figure 762. So far as Massachusetts is concerned the increase of crime from 1880 to 1889 resolves itself into a greater number of punishments for drunkenness. One cannot believe that the amount of drunkenness has increased and diminished in the fitful and spasmodic fashion in which the figures vary. It is not the offence but its punishment that has varied.

The figures for drunkenness cannot be interpreted to show a declining respect for the law, yet it is a type of many of the minor offences. Again, the number of the latter in the records depends not so much upon the number of reprehensible actions as upon the cognizance taken of them by the authorities. Changed social conditions may render it necessary to restrain actions heretofore considered

[1] In Michigan the figures per 100,000 population for a number of years are:

	HIGH CRIMES.	MINOR OFFENCES.
1875	111	391
1880	108	364
1885	93	492
1890	98	428
1894	109	687
1895	114	522
1896	95	596
1897	91	648

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harmless. The most important change in this respect which has taken place in the United States is the growth of our cities. Life in the midst of a crowded population is subject to restrictions unknown in rural regions. Thus, in 1895 the arrests for drunkenness in the cities of Massachusetts numbered 3,417 for every 100,000 inhabitants, and in the towns 750. We may well concede the vice to be more frequent in cities; but this enormous disproportion in the number of arrests must be in part due to the fact that in the cities police officers are more frequently encountered. Again, in the crowded thoroughfares of cities other minor offences must be noticed which might be overlooked in the country. For example, we hear nothing in the country of the crimes of the bicycle, yet the repression of such offences is one of the daily activities of the police of our cities. Illustrations might be multiplied of actions which in the country constitute no offence, but which in cities must be repressed by the law. That such offences occur may indicate a lack of adjustment to the conditions of city life, but it does not mean a moral decline. If there has been an increase of petty crime, which seems probable, we have an adequate explanation of it in the growth of cities.

Let us briefly summarize the conclusions of our inquiry. Crime, in the broadest sense, including all offences punished by law, has probably increased slightly in the last twenty-five years. On the other hand, crime, in its deeper moral sense, as we are apt to picture it, has decreased. Changes in our environment, not changes in our moral standards, have multiplied minor offences. The increase of crime which our modern life reveals is thus a social and not a moral phenomenon.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

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THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER.

I.

The Nature of the Economic and Political Problem.

The appearance of the United States in the circle of world powers, although seemingly sudden and unexpected, has been a natural evolution of recent political and economic tendencies. The time has come when the intensity of the struggle for new markets and for opportunities for investment has forced the great commercial nations, by the instinct of self-preservation, to demand that the field of competition be kept open, even by the exercise, if necessary, of paramount military force. In supporting this demand the United States will obey the motive of enlightened self-interest which actuates other producing nations. She cannot take any other course without condemning herself to industrial stagnation at home as well as to a loss in prestige abroad. The appearance of foreign states as borrowers in the New York money market is one of the many signs that the period of economic isolation for the United States is drawing to an end, and that she must enter into the competition for the world market and into the field of international finance.

In this contest the problem for the United States, on the economic side, is to attain the greatest producing capacity by the efficiency of competitive machinery and labor, while on the political side it is to keep open the opportunity for the free play of this competitive power in the world's markets. If commercial freedom were the rule among nations, so that there could be no discrimination against the most efficient producer, the industries of the United States would need no political support in the contest for commercial supremacy. But, by reason of the conditions which have prevailed in the world from the beginning, under which diplomatic finesse and military force have been brought to the support of national commerce, it is essential that those peoples who can produce under the best conditions should not be deprived of the opportunity to sell in the world's markets. This is the

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significance of the economic and political problem which confronts the American people, and which makes important their foothold in the Philippines as a lever for keeping open the door of China and for sharing in the development of Asia.

Let us examine a little more closely the nature of the contest which confronts modern civilized nations, and discover, if possible, the best way to win and hold supremacy in that contest.

The controlling element of the economic problem is the greatly increased severity of competition. This is due to a combination of the factors which make up the complex conditions of modern industrial life. Among these factors are the division of labor, the development of machinery, the growth of capital, and the revolution in the means of transportation. The mere appearance of the locomotive and the ocean steamship as factors in production and exchange, while producing a remarkable revolution, did not at once level the barriers between markets. Freight rates were much higher a generation or a score of years ago than they are at present; and it required their gradual reduction to the minimum cost of the service rendered to bring into play the full efficiency of railways and canals in merging isolated local markets into a world market, sensitive to every flash of the electric wire bringing the news of a crop failure, a cabinet decision, an act of Congress, or the declaration of a railway dividend in the most distant quarter of the globe. It required also the adaptation of industry to the new conditions before producers could begin to reach out beyond their own country.

As Prof. Liesse declares, in his original and striking book, "Le Travail aux Points de Vue Scientifique, Industriel, et Social," "The concentration of industries has been accompanied by a more and more extended expansion of markets. To local competition were added first that of the surrounding region and then that of the entire country. Finally, in spite of economic fetters, competition has become international." It is upon this international competition that the United States is compelled to enter, whether she wishes it or not, by the conditions of her industrial development. Her production of finished goods and her fund of saved capital have overrun the needs of the home market. But in seeking to enter the world market she finds rivals seeking to fence off particular portions for themselves and to frame the rules of the contest in such a way as to take away the element of a fair fight under the conditions of economic freedom. How a continent has been thus fenced off is well set forth by Prof.

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Schurman, President of Cornell University, in his speech on "Expansion," before the Union League Club of Chicago, on February 22, 1900:

> "In our blind idolatry of the Monroe doctrine, in our devotion to the stay-at-home policy of the eighteenth century, in our intense desire to avoid all international obligations, we have allowed great nations of Europe to partition out Africa among themselves and exclude American products by means of discriminating tariffs devised to secure for their own manufacturers a monopoly of the new markets."

The conditions which confront the business world to-day are essentially the product of very recent years. Cheapness and swiftness of transportation removed one of the insuperable barriers to the creation of a world market, but they did not in themselves create it. At least three other steps were required—the organization of industry, the growth of a fund of capital sufficient for production upon a large scale, and the development of organized markets. It is because these are approaching the goal of an organized world market that the conditions of competition, between different peoples, have suddenly become so acute that diplomacy and the sword are being invoked, on the one side to secure exclusive opportunities, and on the other to preserve equality of conditions. So long as the American producer limited his activity to the home market, and a complacent government lent him the aid of a high tariff to put his experiments on a firm footing as well as to shut out sporadic competition after these experiments had become established industries, it mattered little to him that Tunis or Madagascar had closed its doors to any trade but that of France, or that Russia was gaining financial control of Persia and was trying to shut her rivals out of Turkey and to dictate the trade policy of China. But within a few years the eyes of the American manufacturer have been suddenly opened to the fact that there is a world market in which he must be a competitor if he would dispose of his products and find labor for the thousands expecting it at his hands, and that equal opportunities in this market could be preserved only by the resolute support of his government.

If the question were a purely economic one it could be answered upon purely economic grounds. Under this head alone, however, there is much that is novel in the severity of competition. It is evident that every factor which affects cost of production and transportation will affect competitive power. Such diverse things as the size of cars and locomotives, the rates for the loaning of money, the

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efficiency of the currency, the prizes offered for the invention of labor-saving machinery, the freedom of transactions from needless restrictions and taxes, and the burden falling upon industry for the maintenance of the state and the army, will all be elements in determining the cost and efficiency of production in any community in competition with its rivals. It will not always follow that the absence of the regulation of industry and of generous public expenditures will afford better results than their presence, but each proposition of this character should, at least on its economic side, be weighed solely with reference to its ability to further production and competing power.

Transportation is one of those sciences in which economy and efficiency mean much in the acuteness of modern competition. The American railway system is superior to that of European countries already in the size of locomotives and of cars, and in cost of service. As a rule European distances are so slight that economy in car-space, power, and freight-rates has not yet become a controlling factor in the competition with America; but every reduction in the cost of moving freight over the great distances in the United States increases the competing power of this country. Prof. Henry T. Newcomb, whose researches have shed so much light upon railway development, showed, in a report to the Department of Agriculture in 1898, that the average revenue from freight per ton per mile on the railways of the United States fell from 1.613 cents in 1873 to 0.806 cents in 1896, a decline of 50 per cent in twenty-three years.

Nearly every year has contributed some new element to this reduction of the cost of transportation. Steel rails have supplanted iron, train-brakes have reduced the cost and increased the safety of handling trains, and (to quote from Prof. Newcomb) "the general use of larger locomotives has led to a considerable increase in the average number of cars in each train, which has been accompanied by a notable tendency to substitute larger cars for those which, in the natural course of business, have to be replaced, thus increasing very materially the efficiency of the train as a machine for moving commodities."

The development of organized industry upon a large scale was a necessary pre-requisite to competition in a world market. The division of labor, the use of expensive special machinery capable of producing goods far beyond the requirements of local markets, and reduced cost of superintendence, are among the elements in this

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organization of industry. The removal of the barriers of distance paved the way for production upon a large scale and for the development of these economies to the highest degree. It became possible for each industry to find a home, without regard to distance from its markets, in the community affording the best conditions for production—manufactures of iron near the mines, and manufactures of textiles in the towns and cities where an organized body of skilful workers already existed. It became possible not only to transport materials greater distances from the place of their origin to the place where they were to be made up, but also to distribute finished products with greater economy at long distances from the original place of manufacture.

This specialization of industry was not accomplished in a day. The railway development of the world hardly attained serious proportions before 1870, and was far from complete within the memory of men still in their prime. Prof. Newcomb, in his work on "Railway Economics," calls attention to the fact that in the United States "more than half of the present railway mileage has been constructed since 1880." In 1870 this mileage was only 49,160. There was an increase of 70 per cent to 1880; but even at that date the railways of the United States had a length of only 87,724 miles, which was destined to rise by 1890 to 163,597 miles. The growth since then has been less rapid, because the equipment of the country has been nearing completion.

In France, the growth in railways in operation, exclusive of local lines and tramways, rose from 17,221 kilometers in 1872, to 37,739 kilometers in 1900. In Russia, within the short period from 1887 to 1900, according to the "Russian Journal of Financial Statistics" for January, the mileage of the state railways has risen from 2,928 to 20,346 miles. In the whole of Europe, according to an article by Prof. Edmond Théry in "L'Économiste Européen" of January 5, the aggregate of railways in operation increased from 134,591 kilometers on January 1, 1875, to 269,743 kilometers (165,000 miles) by December 31, 1898. When the very recent character of this development is weighed for a moment, it becomes clear that the nations of the civilized world are only standing upon the threshold of the world market, and that the struggle for its possession is yet before them.

The development of industries upon a scale for supplying this world market necessarily followed at some remove the organization of the means of transportation. This organization reduced to a minimum the

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friction involved in bringing products into the world market. It remained to take advantage of these conditions by increasing the supply as the market widened and the demand increased. How remarkable a development has been witnessed in this direction within one or two decades was set forth in an address delivered at Chicago, on February 20, by Secretary Gage. He pointed out that, while from 1870 to 1899, population in the United States increased by 100 per cent, exports increased from $392,771,768 to $1,227,023,302, or 212 per cent; production of wheat rose from 235,884,700 to 547,303,843 bushels, or 132 per cent; pig iron, from 1,665,179 to 11,773,934 tons, or 607 per cent; steel produced, from 68,750 to 8,932,857 tons, or more than twelve thousand per cent; telegraphic messages, from 9,157,646 to 76,805,175 in number, or 739 per cent; post office receipts, from $19,772,221 to $95,021,384, or 380 per cent; and salaries paid in public schools, from $37,832,556 to $123,809,412, or 227 per cent.

The last item is one among many which are specially significant of the changed conditions of modern life, because they illustrate how large a surplus fund is left for the employment of the professional classes and for ministration to higher ideals after full provision has been made for the exacting conditions of the struggle for existence. It is out of this great surplus that large professional salaries and growing taxes for public improvements are paid, with great benefit both to the competing power and to the higher life of a community, while leaving larger resources than a generation ago for the necessaries and comforts of the working people.

The accumulation of capital is another modern fact contributing greatly to the concentration of industry, thus permitting a greater and greater division of labor, resulting in the growing efficiency of the individual at his special task, and a greater aggregate product from a given number of workers. The growth of the fund of surplus capital has made possible investments in machinery and manufacturing plants which would not have been conceivable a few generations ago. It has been possible to make investments in enterprises requiring a long time for their completion, like transcontinental railways, interoceanic canals, and tunnels, for which the world could not have afforded to spare the capital when its resources were comparatively limited.

When the French railway system was inaugurated, in 1860, it required—in spite of the great progress which had been made in the use of machinery and the saving of capital—the intervention of the

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Bank of France to sustain the necessary financial operations and obtain from the public sufficient subscriptions of capital for carrying on the work. The amount of capital called for in any single year was not more than $60,000,000, which would be treated as a moderate single transaction in the financial operations of to-day. Regarding the total capital of about $2,700,000,000, representing the value of the French railway system at the present time, Prof. Liesse declares that "even the boldest spirits would have been astonished about the middle of the century if the possibility could have been revealed to them of assembling all this capital for a special object, without exhausting the available resources demanded by all the other branches of progressive industry." But each year nearly this amount is now offered from savings for the use of industry.

The compilation of the new securities issued in the civilized world made up annually by the "Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels," the well-known Belgian financial journal, shows the amount to have been 9,129,054,150 francs in 1896, 8,911,870,530 francs in 1897, 8,902,776,660 francs in 1898, and 10,577,406,550 francs in 1899. The issues of railway and industrial securities alone in 1898 were 5,448,091,660 francs, and in 1899, 6,648,483,960 francs, or more than twenty times the amount needed in France in 1860 to inaugurate the railway system of the country.

The manner in which the great fund of savings, groping for safe investment, is piling up in civilized countries is indicated by a glance at the increase in deposits in the European savings systems. Let us take a few illustrations at random: The Prussian savings-banks increased their deposits within the five years ending with 1898 by about 40 per cent, or by a sum of more than $350,000,000. The French private savings-banks at the close of 1899 carried deposits of 3,405,647,025 francs ($657,000,000), equal to about $16 for each inhabitant of France. The impoverished people of Italy, sinking under the burdens of an excessive military establishment and a foreign policy too ambitious for the resources of the country, showed deposits in the ordinary and postal savings-banks at the close of 1899 amounting to nearly $400,000,000. The savings of Belgium deposited in the savings-banks run much above $100,000,000. Even in Russia, which is suffering under industrial depression and extensive famines, the savings deposits in different classes of banks rose from 518,537,000 roubles on November 30, 1898, to 580,331,000 roubles ($308,500,000) by September 30, 1899. In the United States the growth of

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deposits in the savings banks was from $549,874,358 in 1870 to $2,230,366,954 in 1899.

So rapidly has this accumulation of money affected interest rates, by creating a supply of capital in excess of the demand, that conversion of debts at a lower rate of interest was one of the most striking features of the money market and the stock exchanges prior to 1897. There was a hardening of discount rates in the latter year, resulting from the opening of new outlets for investment, including the new industrial activity in the undeveloped countries of Africa and the East.

This supply of surplus capital has resulted in the creation of great banking institutions, handling a speculative fund of thousands of millions of dollars, which often plays a dangerous part in the stock market when it is not loaned in the ordinary operations of production. This great fund shifts from market to market under the impulse of slight differences in the discount rate or the rental for gold; sometimes threatening as much damage to the small investor, who counts upon steady values, as a cannon ball let loose upon the deck of a ship. The ability to draw upon this fund at moderate rates has, however, permitted the constant growth of the concentration of industry, and this concentration has permitted great economies in methods of production. Towns and cities have sprung up at the waving of the magic wand of organized capital, and the creation of varied industries on a grand scale has brought about the birth of various related industries.

An important phase of the movement of capital deserves mention. This is its international character. In his interesting book, "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," Mr. Hobson truthfully declares that "dealers in Stock Exchange securities and in the precious metals are in active, constant competition at all the great commercial centres of the world." International finance has become a power which disregards boundaries, takes scant account of personal and class feelings, and sometimes dictates terms to nations. In its ordinary functions, however, its work is beneficent. It governs the equations between values in different markets by sending capital to those markets where the rental is highest and, therefore, where its efficiency is greatest in ministering to the needs of the race. The free movement of capital between international markets, selfish and pitiless as it seems to be, is in reality but the fluctuation of the barometer of need and supply, the application of the law of greatest usefulness to the most sensitive and responsive of the tools of modern social development.

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It is not a matter of surprise, therefore, but rather a natural result of this increase of competition, that industry should attempt to throw up barriers for its own protection. While competition was local the producer of moderate capacity could hold a local market by the fixed customs of his clientage and by the difficulty of bringing products from a distance into competition with his. He may have made mistakes in buying raw material and in employing out-of-date and wasteful means of manufacture; but if he had no local competitors, or if they all pursued the same indolent and inefficient methods, he had nothing to fear from competitors from without.

Cheapness and rapidity of transportation by land and water changed all this. Within the limits where freight charges did not eat up economies of production, the most ingenious and up-to-date producer was enabled to find the spots in the world where production was less efficiently organized than his own and to drive the local producer there to the wall. As these limits set by the cost of carriage became more and more widely extended, it came to be seen that the only defense against such competition was for the weaker concerns to surrender to the stronger, or to secure an agreement by which there should be a voluntary abstention of the one from entering the territory of the other, or a division of profits or business. Thus the extent and intensity of competition due to the widening of markets forced producers to turn to pools, combinations, and trusts as a natural weapon of self-defence. The great corporation, possessing the most efficient machinery, naturally supersedes the mere pool or trust, and contributes much more to the competing power of the community.

It is when the "trust" has swallowed up its rivals for the control of the local market, and reaches out for the control of foreign markets, that it seeks to bring political power to the aid of economic efficiency or inefficiency, and thus projects the problem of controlling the international market into the field of world politics. It is this struggle between the great political powers of the world for bolstering up national economic power which constitutes the cardinal fact of modern diplomacy. The issue involved is sometimes obscured by motives which seem to be purely national and political, rather than economic; but the controlling fact is coming home more and more to statesmen, even of the least advanced countries, that the real basis of national power is capacity for competitive production. Henceforth, therefore, the aim of national leaders promises more and more to become the finding and keeping of markets and fields for investment—

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in fine, the creation of national trusts vested with the power of taxation and with military and naval force for the object of seeking and holding exclusive markets on the one hand, and of increasing national competing power in free markets on the other.

That this conception of the great State trust, fusing into one mighty combination for distinctly economic ends all the industrial and military power of a nation, is no figment of the imagination, is plainly demonstrated by recent events. Conditions in Asia, Africa, and South America bear witness to its reality. As Senator Depew, of New York, so forcibly remarked, in a recent speech:

> "To relieve home congestion, starvation and revolution, England, Germany and France are increasing their armies, enlarging their fleets, and either waging war or on the eve of great conflicts while partitioning Africa, threatening China, seizing Asiatic principalities, and madly building railroads across the continents of Asia and Africa. By victorious war and triumphant diplomacy we are in our own territory within easy reach, at Manila, of China, Siam, Korea, Annam, the East Indies and Japan. Without war or entangling alliances we will have equal rights with other nations to the ports of the Orient, with all that it means for the demonstrated superiority of our manufactures and the surplus harvests of our farms."

The keenness of international competition for trade is illustrated not only by the actual colonial establishments of the great powers, but by the appointment of special commissions to investigate trade conditions abroad, and by the effort to raise the consular service to the highest degree of efficiency. Great Britain has sent two special commissions to China recently to investigate the opportunities for trade there, and Lord Charles Beresford has interested the world in the proposition that this great market should be kept open to free competition. The French Government has sent two commissions of merchant experts to China, who have made reports of great value, which are kept under the seal of secrecy for the benefit of French trade. The German Government has taken similar steps to open trade opportunities, and sustains by its political prestige investments of German capital in banks and railways in South America and Turkey. The new German railway in the province of Shantung is not only supported by a syndicate of the strongest German banks, including the Disconto Gesellschaft, but, according to the "Moniteur des Intérêts Matériels" of December 3, 1899, is under the direct protection of the German Foreign Office, and will share its earnings with the Imperial Government. The German Empire, moreover, through control of the railway system at home, offers a system of differential rates to her exporters, in order to enable them to increase their sales of

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German products in foreign markets. The United States is waking up to the necessity of organizing her consular service upon the basis of merit; and even Sweden, according to a recent consular report, has appointed a special commission to ascertain in what manner Swedish consuls can best further the export trade of the country.

But, perhaps, the most perfect example of the great State trust bringing to the aid of national competing power all the resources of military and political force is that of the Empire of Russia. On this point it is only necessary to quote the language of a semi-official Russian publication, just issued for the first time in English, "The Russian Journal of Financial Statistics." Here is its definition of the economic position of the Russian State:

"Russia, as a nation and a country, is far behind England in wealth, and America in productiveness. In regard to accumulated wealth, it is behind other coutries as well, viz., France and Germany. But this does not prevent the Russian *State* from being by far *the greatest economic unit on the face of the globe.* It is true, of course, that its national debt, almost equal to that of England, is far less than the national debt of France, while its railway-net is neither as extensive nor as valuable as Germany's. But, on the other hand, if one turns to its assets, it will be seen that the Russian State occupies a unique position. As a land-owner, it draws an annual *net profit* of 45 million roubles from its forests, mines, and agricultural property; the land it has ceded to or purchased for the communities of ex-serfs bring it in over 800 million roubles; as a constructor and purchaser of railways, it is building one of the longest lines in the world, and works 20,300 miles of railway on its own account, the *net* profit on which, $68,000,000, represents one-seventh of that on all the railways of the United States. Besides being a capitalist and banker, the Russian State is a metallurgist and spirit merchant. Apart from its banking operations, the State Treasury in 1898 received over $850,000,000 into its safes, nearly 400 millions of which had nothing in common with revenue from taxation. What private person, what family, however fabulously rich it may be; what railway company, however extensive its railway-net; what trust, can show figures like these? Even the budget of such a country as France is outstripped by $200,000,000."[1]

The Russian Empire, therefore, may be described as the greatest "trust" in the world. From the natural attributes of government monopoly it meets no opposition on Russian soil. Seeking to guard industry at home by high tariffs, and to promote competition abroad by distributing with a generous hand in loans and bounties the gold derived from the infinite resources of international finance, and armed with absolute command over many millions of people, who are accustomed to ready submission to the military system, the Russian Empire represents the greatest organized force which confronts Western civilization. "Upon the highlands of Central Asia," as

[1] This extract is printed just as it appears in the Russian publication in English, except that sums in English pounds sterling are converted into American money.

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Prof. Williams so tersely declared in a brilliant address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, in April, 1899, "have been bred in the past the races which overran and dominated the civilized West; and where these swarms were once raised other millions may spring up in the future to obey the call of the conqueror and spread devastation among those more cultured but less lusty peoples who represent our race."

Russian policy proceeds without interruption along the lines of least resistance, but with many resources for removing obstacles where they are encountered. This policy is directed by an educated and far-seeing autocracy, who keep steadily before them the end of making Russia the ruler of Europe and Asia. While smooth words drop from the lips of Russian ambassadors at foreign courts, the council of ministers at St. Petersburg, with its diplomatic and financial agents scheming in Central Asia, watches for new opportunities for extending Russian influence.

Prof. Williams, in the article already quoted, written more than a year ago, declared—with a prescience which would have been wonderful but for the known continuity of Russian policy—that, "though for the time being there is little advertisement of Russian Asia in the newspapers, it is not likely that she has abandoned her earlier intention of securing Turkey. Even Persia and India remain well within the horizon of her ambition." These predictions have been verified by the creation of a Russian bank at the capital of Persia, which has advanced about $12,000,000 to pay off the debts of the Empire, upon the condition that the custom-house receipts shall be pledged for the payment of interest on the loan. As the London "Statist" of February 3 well remarks:

> "The Loan Bank, which is in reality a Russian State concern, will obtain complete control over the custom houses of Persia if the interest falls in arrear, and unless the whole government of Persia is reformed it is perfectly certain that the interest will fall in arrear. Obviously [remarks the English journal], the Russian government has been quick in availing itself of our troubles in South Africa, for it is hardly likely that our Foreign Office would look on approvingly while these negotiations were being conducted if it were not already too much occupied with more pressing matters."

Intrenched in Central Asia, Russia, with her railway system completed, would be in a strategic position which would endanger not only all China, but also the English possessions in India. The Chinese-Eastern railway, the eastern branch of the Trans-Siberian, cuts directly across the Chinese province of Manchuria to Port Arthur,

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which has been already leased by the decrepit Chinese government to the Russian Empire. Offshoots from this railway, as it skirts the southern border of Asiatic Russia, will give Russia the ability to mass troops at any point along the British frontier, and to draw upon the millions of hardy cavalry of the great Steppes, almost in the twinkling of an eye, while Great Britain is moving troops and supplies by the circuitous water route through the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, and the ports of India.

The scope of Russian plans does not stop with the completion of the Trans-Siberian line. Already engineers are studying the preferable route for the Trans-Caspian Railway, which will lead direct from the boundary of European and Asiatic Russia through the heart of Persia, giving Russia a port on the Persian Gulf, and enabling her to flank British India on the west. Only in the case of the Bagdad Railway, which will be an extension of the German lines in Asiatic Turkey, does Russia seem to have been outgeneraled by another power hungry for world empire and the opportunities for financial exploitation. How far-reaching and well advanced are Russian plans for bringing Western Asia under her political and economic system is set forth in a striking manner by Mr. Alexander Hume Ford in the March number of "The Century." He says:

"This situation has been foreseen by Russia for at least a generation. Like a hand, the palm of which firmly covers Siberia and Transcaspia, the Czar has planted his railway system in Asia. From this strong palm five fingers radiate, and feel their way preparatory to closing in for the next firm grasp. At present an apparently weak and insignificant finger of steel is gradually slipping from its point of connection with the palm, in the Caucasus, towards Constantinople; it has made some progress. The next finger almost touches Teheran, and is gliding down through Persia to the Gulf. The middle finger slips out from under the palm at Merv, in Central Asia; it has touched Herat, and, unless stopped, will soon reach Kandahar and the Arabian Sea, touching British India teasingly in the ribs near Karachi. The index-finger, starting from Samarkand, has already reached the border of China."

It is obvious that with the completion of this railway system Russia would be in a position, in case of war, to dominate Asia. Massing her forces around the Caspian Sea, and pouring reinforcements at short range and by quick railway runs upon any threatened point, she would be able to imitate the effective tactics of Napoleon's early campaigns, striking from a secure centre at the weakest points on the scattered lines of her enemies.

When to this remarkable military position is added the power which a nation organized like Russia derives from the resources of

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international finance, some conception may be formed of the economic and political engine which is being perfected at St. Petersburg. Finance, by the issue of negotiable securities, and by the shifting of these securities from one national market to another under the attraction of trifling differences in price and in the discount rates, has come to recognize no national boundaries or local obligations. Among the most conspicuous of the so-called "international securities" are the government loans and the guaranteed railway bonds of the Russian Empire. So skilfully has Russia appealed to investors, and so steadily has she built up her international credit, that within the thirteen years from 1887 to 1900, as set forth in "L'Économiste Européen" of January 26, she has increased the nominal capital of her debt by more than 40 per cent—from 11,619,432,000 francs to 16,453,691,000 francs ($3,200,000,000)—while the annual debt charge, including some contributions towards the sinking fund, actually fell from 278,591,000 roubles to 274,612,000 roubles ($140,000,000). The meaning of these figures is that the Russian Empire has obtained from the investing community—and nearly all of it from the savings of Western civilization—the use of about a thousand millions of dollars for equipping her railway system, creating a navy, and strengthening her internal resources, and this without adding a penny to the amount which she was already paying for the use of a little more than two thousand millions.

It is into the deep well of the world's investment fund that Russia has been able to dip almost without stint for carrying out her imperial plans since she began to show her ostentatious friendship for France, and since she anchored her credit to a firm foundation by adopting the gold standard. It was the avowed purpose of M. de Witte, the resourceful minister of finance, who has risen from a railway employee at a flag-station to one of the most powerful places in the world, to attract foreign capital into Russia by putting an end to the régime of paper money and adopting the gold standard.

Within three or four years, without having to wait to educate public opinion or to combat the fallacies of popular agitators, decree after decree was issued which raised Russian paper money to a fixed rate of exchange, authorized gold contracts, accumulated the largest gold store in the world, and permitted the resumption of gold payments on demand. Within the three years from October 1, 1896, to October 1, 1899, the paper money in circulation fell from 1,047,600,000 roubles ($545,000,000) to 555,000,000 roubles ($290,000,-

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000), fully covered by gold; and the gold in circulation rose from 30,300,000 roubles ($16,000,000) to 662,300,000 roubles ($345,000,000). Never perhaps in the history of the world was a calculated cause, where so many diverse elements were involved, followed so promptly by the expected result. Foreign capital poured into Russia in a stream of gold and in goods which equipped mines and mills and factories with the resources of production; and within four years more joint-stock companies were floated than had been formed in a century before.

If military and industrial rivals are not to be fed upon the great savings fund of Western civilization, this fund must find employment for itself, and give employment to labor in fields where its use will contribute to the ethical as well as the industrial progress of the world. If all markets were open, if all opportunities for labor and for employing the fruits of labor were free to men of all nations upon equal terms, that nation would confess its cowardice and decadence which was not willing to trust its fate on the economic field of the world to the energy, inventive genius, and productive power of its people.

It is precisely because certain states seem to fear this competition, and desire not only to deprive it of all conditions of equality, but to exclude its influence completely from undeveloped countries, that intervention is justified by those states which represent in the truest sense the political and social ideals of Western civilization. To them is entrusted the solution of the economic problem by the demand on their part for a fair field for its working out, in which all peoples shall have an equal opportunity. Toward this great end the American people can afford to devote their most strenuous efforts, serene in the faith that under such conditions their own victory will be sure, and the higher interests of civilization served.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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DOES GOVERNMENT SERVICE PAY?

To THE question, Does Government service pay? a two-fold answer may be given: It pays the beginner very well and the man of experience indifferently. Curiously enough, it is the only business or profession offering no incentive to excel. In fact, the clerk of mediocre abilities, who is just able to perform his duty, is better off than the one who exhibits talents of a marked order and is eager to gain promotion. Contradictory as these assertions may sound, I rely upon the official records to prove them.

The reason why the Government service—and it should be understood that in this article I am dealing solely with the civil establishment, and make no reference to the Diplomatic or Consular service, or to the Army or Navy—is attractive to the young man starting out on his career is that the Government, in contrast to the private employer of clerical labor, is an exceedingly liberal paymaster, and an equally indulgent taskmaster. Jasper Swingle, twenty-one years old, a graduate of the high school of Deweyville, Minnesota, has no trouble in passing the not very stiff entrance examination set by the Civil Service Commissioners, and is appointed to a clerkship in one of the executive departments in Washington at an annual salary of $900. If he is lucky he may get $1,000. On an average this is fully twice as much as he would receive in other employment.

It must be remembered that Jasper, though a worthy young man, is possessed of no special or technical qualifications. He is not even that very common thing in these days, a stenographer and typewriter; he knows nothing of bookkeeping. He is simply a clerk, who can copy letters, index papers, or perform some other equally elementary office duty. Compare his salary with that paid to his brother, two years his senior, who is "clerking" in a wholesale grocery house in their native town; or his classmate in the high school, who is a bookkeeper in a department store; or his chum, who is the stenographer and typewriter in the superintendent's office of

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the Deweyville street railroad, and it will be seen that Jasper makes the best start in life, especially as he knows that he possesses less ability than these others.

But not alone is he better off in the mere matter of salary. The Government, unlike the private employer, is very considerate of its *employés*. Jasper's brother is fortunate if he does not have to report for duty before 8 o'clock, and he considers himself equally fortunate if 6 o'clock sees his day's work done. Jasper reaches his desk at 9 o'clock, or rather at that hour he must be in his room; but he can take his own time about divesting himself of his outer garments and sitting down in a comfortable chair. At noon, to the stroke, without asking any one's permission, Jasper closes his desk and has half an hour to himself, half an hour in which to eat his lunch, or write private letters, or read a novel, or do anything else he may see fit. That half-hour every day is one of the clauses of the contract, and the Government may not interfere. At half-past twelve Jasper once more belongs to his Government taskmaker until nominally 4 o'clock, but about ten minutes before the hour a strange spirit of unrest creeps over him. He looks at the clock, deliberately wipes and puts away his favorite pen, neatly arranges the papers on which he is working, changes his office coat for his street coat, and at one minute to 4 he nods pleasantly to his room chief and softly closes the door behind him. At the hour he has one foot on the long flight of stone steps leading to the street, and is again a free man until next morning at 9 o'clock. It is true that occasionally, in some great emergency, or in case extraordinary reports have to be prepared, he may be required to work overtime; but the occasions are infrequent enough not to be considered. The Government clerk's day is six and a half hours!

But Jasper has still other causes for congratulation. Thirty days every year he may go off on a vacation, and during the time he is enjoying himself his salary is paid to him in full. If during any one year he falls sick, a headache to-day or a toothache to-morrow, in all not more than thirty days, no deduction of pay is made for his absence, if the fact be certified by his medical attendant. On Saturday, during the hottest months of the summer, his department closes at 3 o'clock; national holidays are religiously observed; and on the day before Christmas and the first day of the year it is the custom for the departments to close at noon. Jasper plays in hard luck if in the course of a year he does not gain three or four extra

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holidays; for a celebration of some kind, either local or national, is sufficient excuse for the closing of the departments.

If Jasper makes a comparative statement between himself and his brother it will present this result:

JASPER:	HIS BROTHER:
11 months, or 282 working days, at 6½ hours per day, 1,833 hours; less 5 per cent for holidays, sick leave, etc.	12 months, or 313 working days, at 10 hours per day, 3,130 hours; less 2 per cent for public holidays.
Hours, net 1,741	Hours, net 3,070
Wages $1,000	Wages $500

or, put in another form: for 44 per cent less work Jasper receives 50 per cent more wages.

If Jasper does his work only fairly well, if he appears at his desk punctually and is tactful enough to win the approval of his division chief and to get along without friction with his fellow-clerks, he can count with reasonable certainty upon promotion. His promotion will depend upon circumstances and to some extent upon luck, and may be slower or faster as vacancies occur or changes are made; but he may be almost sure that in the course of ten years he will be a clerk of Class 3, at $1,600 a year; perhaps he will be in Class 4 receiving $200 a year more, the highest class for graded clerks.

So far he has done very well; he is doubtless better off financially than the majority of clerks of his age and attainments, and he is vastly better off in having shorter hours and being under less strain. If Jasper has been sensible he has saved money—because, despite the popular impression, living in Washington, except to people in society, is as cheap as in much smaller places—and he has studied law or medicine after office hours or in other ways has improved himself mentally. But that has nothing to do with his Government service—and pay.

It is after Jasper has been made a clerk of Class 4 that he discovers that his paymaster, who up to that time has been lavishly generous, becomes extremely niggardly; and he makes the further unpleasant discovery that the mediocre man satisfied with a modest salary, who is content to remain all his life in Government service, stands a better chance of drawing that salary regularly twice a month than the man whose abilities have forced him to the front. As an $1,800 clerk, thanks to the protection accorded by the Civil Service rules, he is in little danger of being disturbed; as the chief of a di-

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vision or as the chief of a bureau changes of administration may, and frequently do, mean his dismissal.[1]

But if he is courageous enough to take the risk he finds out how curiously and unevenly the Government rates services. The average clerk has little responsibility resting upon him; the higher officer has many and heavy responsibilities to assume. The clerk at $1,200, $1,400, $1,600, or $1,800 is well paid, especially so when it is remembered that a lieutenant in the Navy, on whose vigilance and skill rest the lives of several hundred men, and property worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, receives only $1,800 a year, and that before a man is considered fit to be commissioned a lieutenant he must have served many years of probation, and have acquired a broad general and technical education.

The difference between $1,800 and $2,100 is small in money, but there is a wide gap in the duties the Government requires between the two salaries. It has been said that an $1,800 clerk has little responsibility resting upon him, and seldom, if ever, is he required to originate or initiate; he simply does the work set before him. The chief of a bureau in the State Department receiving $2,100 a year has responsibility, and is constantly required to make original suggestions. Or take the chief clerk of the Treasury Department at a salary of $3,000; or the chief of the division of Public Moneys at $2,500; or the chief of the Treasury Bureau of Statistics at $3,000; or the Assistant Commissioner of Patents at $3,000, and it will be seen that the salary does not keep pace with the technical knowledge required.

As the scale ascends the disproportion becomes even more marked. The First Assistant Postmaster-General, who, in the absence of the Postmaster-General, becomes the head of the Department, receives only $4,000 a year, as do the second and third Assistant Secretaries of State and the various auditors. The three Assistant Secretaries of the Treasury receive $500 more, the Comptroller of the Currency $5,000, and the Comptroller of the Treasury $5,000. These men must have expert knowledge—they are lawyers or financiers or are possessed of marked executive ability—and in corresponding po-

[1] While changes are less frequent now than they were before the executive departments were placed under the protecting ægis of the Civil Service Commission, the fact that a chief of a division or the head of a bureau knows that he is subject to dismissal at the whim of the member of the cabinet under whom he serves, who, if he is a "spoilsman," has no hesitation in making changes for political reasons "and the good of the service," has often deterred a competent man from accepting promotion.

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sitions in civil life receive salaries two, three, and four times as large. So thoroughly do great corporations appreciate the ability the Government is able to command, that as soon as a man demonstrates his worth he is quickly enticed to leave the Government service and enter the office of some great railroad or financial institution. Remembering the inadequate salaries paid, it has always been a wonder to me that the Government is continually able to secure the services of such gifted men.

But if Jasper declines promotion, he may go to destruction on the rock of Scylla after having escaped the whirlpool of Charybdis. To gain prominence makes him a shining mark for the spoilsman when an administration changes, to remain a subordinate will have its disadvantages when Jasper no longer feels the sap of lusty youth. The Government is more soulless even than the most hardened corporation. A humane secretary, in the case of the aged clerks, rather than turn them adrift to die on the roadside like a broken-down horse, has strained the law in the cause of charity by making their duties practically nominal at a reduced pay; but even this is now prohibited, as the Government does not recognize a civil pension list. As Jasper grows older and physical infirmity creeps upon him, his value as a clerk diminishes, and the Government makes him give way to a younger man. His long years of faithful service count for nothing.[1]

It is interesting to compare our civil service with that of Great Britain. The English Civil Service system may not be ideally perfect, but it comes very close to that state, and offers great inducements to ambitious men of brains. I have before me the return of salaries paid the officers and the clerks of the Local Government Board, a Department to which we have nothing in this country precisely similar, as the duties of the Local Government Board devolve partly on the Treasury and partly on the Department of Justice. The head of the Department is a member of the cabinet receiving a salary of $10,000 a year, and under him are 530 officers and clerks with sal-

[1]In 1893 the Dockery Commission reported that there were employed in the Government Departments 1,400 persons of sixty years and upwards. Of this number 742 were between 60 and 65; 386 were between 65 and 70; 182 were between 70 and 75; 66 were between 75 and 80; 33 were between 80 and 85; 6 were between 85 and 90; and 1 between 90 and 95. About a year after his entrance into office Secretary of the Treasury Gage established an "honorable service roll," to which he transferred these aged clerks at reduced salaries, as his sympathies were aroused at the sight of these veterans struggling to earn their salaries honestly. Congress, however, decided that the honorary roll was illegal, and practically compelled the Secretary either to dismiss the veterans or else retain them to the embarrassment of the service.

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aries ranging from $9,000 to $78. The next highest paid official is the Permanent Secretary, the lowest are the boy messengers at six shillings ($1.50) a week. Of the 530 employés 257 are clerks, copyists, and typewriters, and of these the lowest paid are the boy copyists, who "are paid 14 shillings a week, rising annually, with the approval of the Civil Service Commissioners, one shilling a week to 18 shillings. Boy copyists are not retained after reaching the age of 20." The typewriters, women, receive a minimum salary of sixteen shillings ($4) a week, with an advance of one shilling a week during the second year, and two shillings a week thereafter, until the maximum of twenty-five shillings is reached. The Assistant Superintendent receives a maximum salary of thirty shillings, and the Superintendent thirty-five shillings. In the English service, with few exceptions, original appointments are made to the lowest grades and promotions come in the regular order of service. The salary, the date of appointment, and the date from which the increase of salary is to be computed are given in the register, so that any clerk may know if undue preference is given to another.

Of the clerks proper, the majority, 116, belong to the second division, whose maximum salaries range from $500 to $1,250 a year. Most of them are appointed at a minimum of $350, with an annual increase of $25, although some receive a minimum of $500, and an annual increase of $37.50, and a few have been appointed at $900, with an increase of $50. The higher grade clerks of the second division receive $1,250 on appointment, and may hope to reach $1,750 by annual increases of $50. Second-class clerks are paid from $750 to $1,000 as the minimum, with a maximum of $1,750 after from ten to fourteen years' service. Clerks of the first class receive $2,000 on appointment, with an annual increase of $100 until the maximum of $3,000 is reached; while principal clerks are paid $3,250, and in six years are entitled to receive $4,000. Above these are inspectors, general inspectors, and assistant secretaries, whose salaries range from $4,500 to $6,000.

It will be noticed that the salaries increase with the responsibilities and length of service. The permanent Secretary, Sir Hugh Owen, K. C. B., has been in the government service since 1849, and outranks all others in the Board in the seniority of service. He has held his present appointment seventeen years, and, like every one else, when first appointed, did not receive the maximum salary, but only gained it after serving three years. The three assistant

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secretaries, who have received the decoration of C. B. for their services, have from twenty-seven to thirty-six years of service each to their credit. On appointment they were paid $5,000, and were advanced at the rate of $250 until the limit of $6,000 was reached.

The great distinction between the English and American civil service is this: In the English service the subordinate salaries are lower than in the American service, but the higher officials in England are better paid. In England it largely depends upon the individual whether he shall remain a subordinate or go to the top. If his capabilities are limited he enters the service in one of the junior grades, and must be content to remain there, as the rules do not permit his promotion from that grade to the one above; but if he has abilities of a higher order, and can pass an examination admitting him to a class from which promotions to the highest positions are made, his future is largely in his own keeping. Whatever his position, whether junior clerk or permanent secretary, he need have no fear of dismissal because some other man wants his place. So long as he does his duty he is as much protected from assault as is a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; and after having given the best years of his life to the service of his Government his declining days are softened by a pension, and often by a title, which, empty honor though it may be, is a mark of national gratitude not to be despised.

England's success as a colonizer and administrator of foreign possessions has attracted the admiration and envy of the world. The methods by which she has achieved this success are of peculiar interest to Americans, now that for the first time in our history we are called upon to administer outlying colonies. If we are wise we shall pattern after the English system. Here is the very essence of that system put in concrete form by one of England's most successful administrators, Viscount Cromer, the British diplomatic agent in Egypt, in a despatch sent to Lord Salisbury a few months ago:

"Very numerous applications are addressed both to myself and to other English officials in this country by young Englishmen seeking employment either in Egypt or the Soudan. In some cases the applicants come to this country furnished with letters of introduction from friends in England. It may possibly obviate disappointment to many, if, with a view to publication, I state briefly the general principles on which the administration of Egypt is carried on.

"A very small number of Englishmen are employed in high positions. Every effort is made to restrict the number of Europeans, whether of English or of other nationalities, in the subordinate ranks of the public service, which is more especially—and, as far as possible, exclusively—reserved for natives of

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Egypt. It does, indeed, occasionally occur that the employment of young Europeans is necessary, but such cases are of rare occurrence. It is no exaggeration to say that only a very small proportion of those who apply to me and to others for employment have the least chance of obtaining it. I should add that, in the cases to which I have alluded above, technical knowledge of one sort or another is generally required.

"Moreover, every selection, whether for a high or subordinate employment, is made with the utmost care, and with sole reference to the merits of the various candidates. Further, it has to be borne in mind that, more especially in the case of young applicants for employment, the claims of those on the spot have to be considered. It happens not unfrequently that in this category are to be found young men, sometimes of English, sometimes of some other nationality, with local or linguistic knowledge which particularly suits them to fill any place which may happen to be vacant, and whose claims are all the more deserving of consideration from the fact that their fathers have not infrequently, for many years past, rendered useful service to the Egyptian Government.

"It cannot, therefore, be too clearly understood that Egypt and the Soudan do not at present afford any wide field for the employment of young Englishmen."

Commenting on this despatch the London "Spectator" said:

"Contrast the French system in Algiers, and even in Tunis, where, though only a protectorate colony, there are said to be 5,000 small French functionaries doing work which natives could do just as well. * * * If the Empire is ever run on the principle of billets for our own unemployed literati, and not in the interest of the governed, we shall infallibly lose it, and deserve to lose it."

"Everyone knows the great success that Lord Cromer has attained [says the New York 'Times']. Here is the secret, in great part.' The policy he briefly and clearly describes has two great merits which ought to make Americans in public life study it with care, with prayer even and fasting. One is that it shuts out from the service every man with a 'pull.' As only the high and responsible posts, that could not otherwise be filled, are given to Englishmen, the very best are needed. Favoritism in such matters would be fatal. The other is that the service wins the respect and regard of the Egyptians. It is to a great extent their service. Their sons take part in it and have a chance to win an honest living and credit in it. Its influence tends constantly to fit the people more and more for the sound and safe management of their own affairs. It fosters self-reliance, devotion to right principles, and pride in their maintenance and enforcement. It builds up an intelligent and efficient patriotism. This is precisely the task that we have assumed in our new dependencies. We can find no better guide than Lord Cromer."

A Cromer is needed in Cuba, in the Philippines, in Puerto Rico; but we cannot expect to find Cromers at a salary less than that paid to many first-class salesmen, nor can we expect Cromers to do what has been done in Egypt and in India if they are badgered by politicians, if their tenure of office depends upon the whim of politicians, and if they have to rely upon subordinates whose claim to appointment is the influence of politicians. Since England adopted a civil service system based on merit and not on favoritism, men have been selected for responsible posts without regard to their politics, and they have served the Empire and not an administration. Not one Englishman

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in a hundred can remember what the present Lord Cromer's politics were when as Major Baring he was sent to Egypt as financial adviser to the Khedive, nor does any one care. What difference whether he was Liberal or Conservative, so long as he added to the glory of Britain? To-day no man's name is more frequently on the public lips than that of Sir Alfred Milner; and yet how few remember that he commenced his political career as a Gladstonian candidate for Parliament, and was sent by a Conservative Government to the Cape. Fancy a Republican President appointing as Governor-General of Cuba a man who a few years ago ran for Congress on the Democratic ticket!

To get the best men, men like Cromer and Milner and Pauncefote—who commenced life as the private secretary to an assistant secretary—and scores of others who might be named, governing must be recognized to be as much of a profession as is medicine or law or engineering. Men must make of it their life work, must be trained to it from their boyhood as we now train our naval and military officers, and must not be permitted to take it up because they have failed at everything else, or because a Government appointment is to be used to pay a political debt.

But, coming back to my original proposition, I think it will be admitted that to the man who would be content to remain all his life a clerk at a small salary Government service offers great inducements. But the man who looks for something better, who has ambition and brains enough to work for one of the great prizes, whether money or name, should—if I may modify Nelson's injunction to an officer on entering the Navy—"hate the Government service as he would the devil."

A. Maurice Low.

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AMERICAN OUT-DOOR LITERATURE.

American out-door literature has now reached a stage where, for the first time, perhaps, it can be considered as a whole, and be viewed from a critical standpoint. Hitherto this has been impossible, neither the quantity nor the variety of material being sufficient to warrant one in treating the subject in a broad and general manner. The English out-door literature which preceded the American was neither large in quantity nor valuable in quality. Prior to 1800 there were, comparatively speaking, but few contributions. I do not forget, of course, the quaint little volume, "The Boke of St. Alban's," written by Dame Juliana Berners near the close of the fifteenth century, in which the "Treatysse on Fysshinge wyth an Angle" throbs with a fine enthusiasm, and wherein is shown a keen appreciation of "the swete savoure of the meede floures;" or the oft-quoted and much-reprinted observations of lovable Izaak Walton. These two writers, however, were but oases in a wide extent of barren desert.

It was really not until the appearance of White's "Natural History of Selborne" that the soil of literature seemed to produce writers who were in sympathy with nature. A noticeable publication was an octavo volume of some 300 pages entitled "Country Rambles in England, or the Journals of a Naturalist," by J. L. Knapp, a book more familiarly known as "Knapp's Journals," and published in London in 1828. Bishop Stanley's "A Familiar History of Birds," which appeared about 1840, reached some six or seven editions, but is more to be prized for the painstaking care of its research than for any originality of thought. "Essays on Natural History, Chiefly Ornithological," were issued in 1852, under the signature of Charles Waterton, three volumes of moderate size following each other in quick succession. Their contents were artificial and controversial. In 1855 Charles Boner published in London a translation of Dr. Hermann Masius' "Studies from Nature," a series of essays bearing the impress of deep thought. Four years later "A Tour Around My

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Garden," by Alphonse Karr, was translated from the French by Rev. J. G. Wood, of London. In its quaintness and individuality, this work was far in advance of the others. The view of nature taken by these early writers, however, was purely from the standpoint of observation. Their work was objective, not subjective. It was not entirely futile—no honest work can be—but it contained nothing to attract, and it failed to appreciate the closeness which exists between humanity and nature. It treated the latter as if it were something afar off, and did practically nothing to stimulate out-door literature in the New World.

American out-door literature sprang almost at once into full being. It dwelt for a moment in swaddling clothes, but escaped entirely the period of first trousers and downy cheek. Had there been, in the evolution of the birds, no intermediate stage between the sparrow and the eagle, the gulf could not have been wider than that between the early out-door writers and Thoreau. With the latter, the literature of which I write attained at once the full stature of a mature manhood.

Thoreau's love of nature was inborn. Reading may have added fuel to the flame, but the spark was kindled when the boy came into the world. Books were not the fount of his inspiration. He used literature, as Channing says, as an aid. He knew White's "Natural History of Selborne," and, I believe, quotes somewhere from Stanley's "Birds." "Knapp's Journals" were republished in Buffalo in 1853, and probably came under his observation. He read Audubon, experiencing a thrill as he did so; he perused Nuttall, Buffon and other scientists, Cummings' stories, Burton's travels, Drake's voyages, Guyot's histories, the Persian and Hindoo sacred books, the Greek and Latin classics, and the English poets, especially the older ones. He did not quote American out-door literature, for at that time there was none.

The fact must not be overlooked that Emerson's "Nature" was published in 1836, when Thoreau was writing only stray fragments. But Emerson's thoughts were never as closely associated with out-door life as Thoreau's. He stirred the heart; he was surrounded by an atmosphere of peculiar rarity; his clear vision read the secrets of earth and sky; he touched a higher key than Thoreau. But—and herein is the difference—he more frequently deserted the road and the field for the seclusion of the library. For Thoreau all out-doors was a study, filled, not with books, but with volume after volume

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and page after page of a literature which no bibliophile could ever hope to possess. And after Thoreau and Emerson comes John Burroughs. His writings mark another era in out-door literature, for he combines Thoreau's love of nature and Emerson's poetic sensibility with a strong love of humanity. He has found both the beauty and the joyousness of nature; and his charming style has been the open gateway through which thousands of delighted readers have passed into the innermost of nature's sanctuaries.

These foremost three writers of out-door literature have been so thoroughly discussed that I have purposely referred to them with some degree of brevity, in order that I might devote more space to those whose names and works are not so well known. The pioneer, perhaps, was Dr. John B. Godman, who published in 1833 a little book of 150 pages, entitled "The Rambles of a Naturalist."

> "From early youth [he says] I have devoted myself to the study of nature. It has always been my habit to embrace every opportunity of increasing my knowledge and that of others by actual observation, and I have had ample means of gratifying this disposition wherever my place has been allotted by Providence. When an inhabitant of the country it was sufficient to go a few steps from the door to be in the midst of numerous interesting objects; when a resident of the crowded city, a healthful walk of half an hour placed me where my favorite enjoyment was offered in abundance. And now, when no longer able to seek in fields and woods and running streams for that knowledge which can so readily be obtained, the recollection of my former rambles is productive of a satisfaction which is but seldom bestowed."

Very quaint are the descriptions of these rambles, many of which were by the side of the beautiful Patapsco River, near Baltimore. The lanes and brooks that were his hunting-grounds never failed to yield rare sport. He had few professional books, but the wide expanse of water visible from his window was a volume whose open page he never tired of studying. So devoted was he to nature that it was frequently necessary for his servant to summon him home when a patient called. He was industrious and discriminating in his observations, walking many hundred miles to investigate the habits of the mole; and while making no pretension to literary style, he was not without ability in that direction.

Another early writer, though not a predecessor of Thoreau, was Charles Lanman, who for many years lived in Georgetown, a suburb of the national capital. Between 1847 and 1854 he wrote at least five books, of which "Summer in the Wilderness"—a record of a canoe voyage up the Mississippi and around Lake Superior—"A Tour to the River Saguenay in Lower Canada," and "Adventures in the Wilds of North America" show Mr. Lanman to have possessed an

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explorer's enthusiasm, a poet's heart, a painter's eye, and an author's faculty. He was among the first to enter the fastnesses of the Catskills, to explore the picturesque Cheat River country, and to fish for salmon in the Restigouche. He travelled and painted in every State east of the Mississippi River. His works altogether number twenty volumes, and yet to-day he is hardly known. His efforts deserved a better fate, but perhaps he wrote before he had an audience. He was filled with intense love for the old Indian legends which are now disappearing, but which were then charmingly fresh. He caught their spirit, felt his heart throb with their humanity and simplicity, and translated them into a poetic prose. There is a touch of wild life in all his books, and his heart was close to nature. The latter quality is shown in this delightful bit of description of a spring day:

"The woods! A goodly portion of the day have I spent in one of their most secret recesses. I went with Shakespeare under my arm, but I could not read him any more than fly; so I stretched myself at full length on a huge log, and kept a sharp lookout for anything that might send me a waking dream. The brotherhood of trees clustered around me, laden with leaves just bursting into full maturity and possessing that delicate and peculiar green which lasts but for a single day and never returns. A fitful breeze swept through them so that ever and anon I fancied that a company of ladies fair were come to visit me and that I heard the rustle of their kirtles."

While Mr. Lanman was gaining material for his books by extensive travels, Miss Susan Fenimore Cooper, the daughter of the famous novelist, was busy at her home preparing a bulky volume which was published in Philadelphia in 1850, under the title of "Rural Hours." It must have touched a responsive chord, for it ran through several editions. Its best points were an evident love of nature, an observant eye, and a pleasant, though commonplace, manner of expressing the writer's thoughts. It lacked force and virility; and had it been carefully edited the dates of the appearance of radishes and lettuce upon the table, an essay on house-cleaning, and many other trivial things would have been omitted. The femininity of the author is plainly perceptible throughout the book, not always to its disadvantage, however, for there are the woman's eye for color and her quick ear for sound. There is also too faithful a record of the weather, though we pardon this when she chronicles the happy day when the winter wind at last loses its stinging bite, and refers to spring as "the early dawn before the summer day." We can also tell, by the delicate description, that it is a woman who writes of the coming of the early flowers; who feels that to discover the first arbutus is indeed to find a prize; whose tender conscience feels a pang

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even as she stoops to gather several bunches "growing so prettily that it seemed a pity to pull them."

The period between 1850 and 1875 was noticeable for the full blossoming of the great trio already mentioned, Thoreau, Emerson, and Burroughs. There were few other out-door writers during that time. The earliest work of Mr. T. W. Higginson, now a recognized essayist, related to out-doors, and appeared in 1863. It was fragmentary, but each fragment was perfect in itself. To a charming style he added a minute observation, even tripping up such an accepted naturalist as Wilson Flagg. He was one of the first to agitate for the revolutionizing of botanical names; proposing to abolish the arbitrary and meaningless Latin names for flowers, and to substitute some appellation indicative of their sweetness, color, or form. While he was not entangled in the whirlpool of transcendentalism, he recognized the value of an honest love for nature—was even convinced, in fact, that it was in some sense necessary. "Our American life still needs," he said, "beyond all things else a more habitual cultivation of out-door habits." The out-door essays of Mr. Charles Dudley Warner and of James Russell Lowell, written about the same time, are characterized by gracefulness and force. In Lowell's critical work, as in his essay on Thoreau, he is, of course, at his best; but "My Garden Acquaintance" and "A Good Word For Winter" are standard examples of literature which has out-doors for its inspiration. With his estimate of Thoreau many readers are likely to disagree; but he has carefully neutralized his condemnation with deserved praise.

A book, well worth reading, but comparatively unknown, appeared in 1875. It is entitled "Foot Notes," and bears the name of Alfred Barron, of Wallingford, Conn., as its author. Its preface, instead of being the inviting threshold one would like a preface to be, is apt to repel anyone of positive tendencies, for in it Barron confesses to a spiritualistic influence. He is inclined to regard it as the hovering, immaterial presence of Thoreau, but he is not quite sure. This confession, while it may dull the otherwise sharp edge of the book, does not prevent us from acknowledging that the author is *en rapport* with nature; that he is poetic and imaginative to a high degree; that he loves the footpaths, the old pastures, everything that is out-doors. The common pokeweed is to him a thing of beauty; and as for the lichens, no one has ever invested them with such a strong human interest as is found in this paragraph:

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"I think I may say something about my relations to the lichens, for I have lived somewhat intimately with them. I am a pruner; and the practical man who employs me is vigilant against the insects that prey on the fruit and shelter themselves on the trees. I must be executive and not maunder, so I labor along, diligently scraping the loose bark and mosses and lichens; but I feel all the time as if I were doing a vulgar thing like defacing and tearing down draperies. I suppose this practical man is in some way needful to me; I, too, might become a good deal mossy were it not for the hard scrapings I get from him. But then it does not always feel good to be made so bare and so very real.

"I have to get very near the lichens, and I find that the smaller ones are the most beautiful. These little things have sorcery about them; and one had best not come too close to them. I think they are getting their revenge by fascinating me a little. I don't dare to look at them much; I have to work with my eyes averted a little; still I cannot entirely resist their charm. One of these lichens has a light-brown cup; and when I look at it, it penetrates me like glances from the eye of a woman, and I forget to look at the sun-glints on the river and at the mountains when they are violet."

The book is full of these curious touches and peculiar subtleties; and it is a pity that the author budded, blossomed, and went to seed in his one effort, as I believe he did. He enjoyed a keen, spiritual sympathy with nature, whereas the books of Wilson Flagg, another New England out-door writer who flourished at the same time, lack this quality, and are devoid of any charm or enthusiasm, whatever value they may possess as records of observation.

The true lover of nature is a poet at heart, though he may lack the faculty of expressing himself in poetic form, while the true poet is always sure to be a lover of nature. It naturally follows that out-door poetry covers an immense field; and an attempt to garner everything growing therein would be an endless task.

Preëminent among American out-door poets is William Cullen Bryant. He is imbued with a devotion to nature which is akin to religion, and his sentences move with a rhythm which is both melodious and grand. His "Forest Hymn," beginning, "The groves were God's first temples," is most beautiful and stately. John G. Whittier, too, is a poet of nature. No idyl of winter has yet equalled "Snow-bound," while "The Huskers" is as perfect in its way as one of Millet's pictures. "The Last Walk in Autumn" and "Summer by the Lakeside" are two fine examples, while the mountains find in the rugged Quaker poet an adequate interpreter. Walt Whitman saw the virile side of nature. Longfellow's is the soft, sunny, dreamy experience of nature, as when he says:

"Pleasant it was, when woods were green,
And winds were soft and low,
To lie amid some sylvan scene,
Where, the long drooping boughs between,
Shadows, dark and sunlight sheen
Alternate come and go."

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Even "Hiawatha," which is altogether an out-door poem, is marked by the same characteristics. Emerson's out-door poetry is like a tonic. Bayard Taylor touches a clear, true note in his poems whenever they relate to out-doors. He has a direct and simple style which leaves a vivid impression.

A notable member of the earlier group of out-door poets was Jones Very, of Salem, Mass., whose praises were sung by Emerson and Bryant. He was thought to be eccentric, and, as he strode solemnly through his little town, seemed surrounded by a mysterious atmosphere. The common people could not understand him, but to this obtuseness he was indifferent; Emerson understood him, and that was enough. His sonnets are as sweet as Wordsworth's, and are marked by a subtle appreciation of nature's moods. He writes of the rain and the snow, the wind and the sky, the stars and the sunshine. He was close to nature's heart, for he says:

"The babbling brook doth leap when I come by,
Because my feet find measure with its call."

and he adds that the birds know him as a friend, and that the flowers expect him on the hillside when spring comes. John James Piatt, too, must be fairly admitted into the company of out-door poets. His song is soft, but sweet and clear. He is not great either in conception or in execution, but he is always melodious and sincere, and at times displays a charming delicacy of touch. Edith M. Thomas has also written some excellent out-door poetry. Nor must we forget the two Massachusetts poets, Dora Reade Goodale and Elaine Goodale, who have seen directly into the heart of nature. Their voices have always been pure, and unaffected, and natural, their songs spontaneous, their sentiments exquisite. Of their genuine inspiration there can be no question.

But if there were not another interpreter of nature Maurice Thompson would be sufficient. His prose essays are praiseworthy, but his poetry is of fine quality. Observe, for instance, his little poem, "Before Dawn." It contains only sixty-three words, and yet for expression and description is marvellous. I quote it entire:

"The keen, insistent hint of dawn
Fell from the mountain height;
A wan, uncertain gloom betrayed
The faltering of Night.

"The emphasis of silence made
The fog above the brook
Intensely pale; the trees took on
A haunted, haggard look.

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"Such quiet came, expectancy
Filled all the earth and sky:
Time seemed to pause a little space;
I heard a dream go by!"

This list of out-door poets could be indefinitely extended; but enough has been shown to prove that we do not lack singers whose notes are worthy of all attention. Happily, the day is not far distant when they will address an audience far larger than that which to-day finds satisfaction in their songs.

From the limited number of authors in the early period of American out-door literature, and the still more restricted circulation attained by their works, it is pleasant to pass to the wide-spread appreciation bestowed to-day upon those who write of nature. We now have magazines devoted exclusively to out-door topics; Thoreau's books are issued in luxurious editions; and we see the later writers enjoying popularity and the practical results thereof. Indeed, the bibliography of current American out-door literature would fill a volume of no mean dimensions.

The list would, of course, be headed by the delightful volumes of John Burroughs, and would include the sincere and sympathetic essays of Maurice Thompson, and the artistic work of William Hamilton Gibson, whose pen was as graceful in its expression as his pencil. Edith M. Thomas possesses a finer sense than is given to masculine minds, and "A Summer Holinight" is so ethereal and rarefied as to be almost weird. Sarah Orne Jewett has some delicate touches of nature, evidently drawn from experience, in her "Country By-Ways." Bradford Torrey and Olive Thorne Miller have sought and found nature at home; and the books of Charles C. Abbott, who has been quite industrious of late years, show close observation, a mature judgment, and an innate love of out-doors. Herbert Miller Sylvester has contributed two volumes of interesting essays, in which an optimistic philosophy is deftly blended with facts; and Horace Lunt, Clifton Johnson, and others are doing excellent work. Hamilton Wright Mabie's essays, "Under the Trees and Elsewhere," show sympathetic and intimate association with nature, and are written in a style as crystalline and refreshing as a mountain brook. "The Forest of Arden" is especially charming in its delicate sentiment. Nor can we forget Dr. Henry Van Dyke's clear and sweet note, sounded in his enjoyable books. And while these purely literary creations appeal to the adult mind, the young people of this generation are not forgotten. I could mention a goodly number of books, written for the

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use of schools, which are intended to inculcate in the pupils a love of nature, and to train the eye, ear, and heart to appreciate the beauties of all out-doors. There would be, therefore, no lack of literary food for those whose hearts beat in unison with nature, even if the present list of writers were not increased. We look forward, however, to an indefinite extension of that list.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

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